THE Nation

VOLUME 144 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 19, 1937 NUMBER 25

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 689

EDITORIALS:

SETTLING STRIKES: LAW AND REALITY 692

THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA 693

WINSHIP MUST GO 694

"THE NATION'S" FUTURE 695

WASHINGTON LOOKS AT STEEL by Thomas L. Stokes 696

SPAIN: A SOCIALIST VIEW by Norman Thomas 698

STANLEY BALDWIN STEPS DOWN by Harold J. Laski 700

SPAIN'S HOMELESS MILLION by Leland Stowe 702

WILL THE SEC WRECK HEARST? by James Smith 703

SOCIAL CREDIT: TROUBLES IN ALBERTA by Donald Leslie 704

MR. HEARST ASKS FOR HELP by Oswald Garrison Villard 706

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

DRANG NACH OSTEN by Julian S. Bach, Jr. 707

TOMB FOR THE TWENTIES by Mark Van Doren 707

FABLE AND PROPHECY by Dorothy Van Doren 708

CLAUDE KITCHIN VINDICATED by Oswald Garrison Villard 709

OUR NIETZSCHE by Eliseo Vivas 710

SAVING DEMOCRACY by Carl Joachim Friedrich 711

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 713

Editors

FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MAX LERNER

Associate Editors

MARGARET MARSHALL MAXWELL S. STEWART

Editorial Associates

HEYWOOD BROUN ALVIN JOHNSON

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Hugo Van Arx, Business Manager. Walter F. Grueninger, Circulation Manager. Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager.

Copyright, 1937, by The Nation, Inc.

The Shape of Things

*

IT WAS NO SURPRISE WHEN THE SENATE Committee on the Judiciary reported the President's court bill unfavorably. For weeks the warring camps within the committee had fought each other with press statements and publicity handouts. The committee report itself, signed by ten of the eighteen members, must be seen as the latest of these maneuvers on the battle ground of public opinion. As we studied it we found it less the work of a committee reporting back to its parent deliberative body than a political broadside, studded with vague stereotypes and filled with often nonsensical fears about the future of our government. The only group that has reason to be happy over the report is the Republican National Committee, and the fact that Democratic Senators have had a considerable hand in the writing of it only serves to reveal more sharply the cleavage within the party. We should be surprised if the report changes any votes, either within or outside the Senate. We may expect that august body to settle down now to a long process of trench warfare, with Senatorial courtesy definitely suspended during the period of hostilities. The final line of defense for Senator Wheeler and his forces will be the filibustering brigade, while the hot Washington summer will help the President. It is no secret now that Mr. Roosevelt will be willing to accept something less than the six additional judges he asked for. It is no secret also that the Senate "liberals" who opposed the measure originally because of their zeal for a constitutional amendment have now entirely forgotten that they ever mentioned so dangerous a topic.

*

BILBAO MAY, BY THE TIME THESE LINES ARE read, be the scene of the most critical fighting of the Spanish war since Madrid was in danger. Franco knows that if he does not capture the city now his whole game is up. Its loss would be a heavy blow to the Loyalists on several counts. It would release a large body of rebel troops for the other fronts; it would sway England to some extent, since Bilbao is the principal port for British trade and mining concessions; and it would help to repair Franco's severely shattered morale not only in British eyes but also in those of Mussolini and Hitler. The report from Rome that the two fascist dictators are giving their Spanish comrade, Franco, a final chance and have planned the raising of a new army of 100,000 Moors and Spaniards backed by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fascist armaments, officers, and technicians, has an authentic ring, despite its obvious exaggeration. It shows again how complete a farce is the pretense of fascist "non-intervention," and it points the way to atrocities beside which the bombing of Guernica and the shelling of Almeria will seem petty. While Bilbao is evacuating its women and children at about 4,000 a day, principally on the road to Santander, the city is sure to be stubbornly defended. And whatever the fate of Bilbao, the essential strength of the Loyalist government, which lies in its popular support and its heroism, is unimpaired. The new offensives on the Aragon and Cordoba fronts are fresh proofs of that strength. What Mussolini and Hitler are probably aiming at is to improve Franco's tottering fortunes sufficiently so that a "peace" formula will be considered that will allow the fascist dictators to retire from their disastrous Spanish adventure without too drastic a loss of face.

✶

A MASS PETITION TO THE GOVERNOR OF Alabama and to the state prosecutor is about to be circulated by the Scottsboro Defense Committee asking that the boys be set free, and the week of July 1 to July 6 has been designated as national Scottsboro week. We hope every organization and individual interested in common justice will get behind this move and roll up a list of signatures that the state of Alabama cannot ignore, for there is at least a chance that the mass pressure which has kept the boys alive for six years can now actually bring about that much-to-be-desired ending to the case. Haywood Patterson's fourth conviction has just been upheld by the Alabama Supreme Court; the other eight defendants go on trial again in Decatur on July 6. It is clear to those who have watched this dreary spinning out of race prejudice that the cases will continue to go from state court to federal court and back again until all constitutional issues have been exhausted and the local court has at last found ways to make its convictions stick. Yet even in Alabama it is admitted that the case against the boys has been shown to be highly doubtful. There is the further fact that Jackson County, where the cases have been tried, has exhausted its resources in the attempt to send the boys to the electric chair. In general Alabama is said to be "tired" of the Scottsboro case.

✶

IN THE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, *ADVERTISER* of June 12 there was published an editorial which in its first half defended the newspaper's unyielding support of the state's past conduct of the Scottsboro case and in the second half suggested that a "decent compromise" be made, ". . . since nothing worth while can be gained by the state in pressing its prosecutions to the bitter end." The *Advertiser,* to be sure, makes no specific recommendations, and "compromise" is an ugly word in connection with the Scottsboro defendants whose lives have been placed in jeopardy, practically if not legally, over and over again for the same unproved crime. The *Advertiser* does note the fact that the boys "committed whatever crime they may have committed in extraordinary circumstances and against two women who by all accounts never before had put a high premium upon their virtue." And the editorial concludes, "Enlightened public opinion in Alabama will, in the *Advertiser's* opinion, applaud any official concerned who now strikes out for an honorable, fair, and just settlement of these messy cases." In our opinion an honorable, fair, and just settlement is the one set forth in the petition we have mentioned—that the boys be set free. Such a settlement would, among other things, immensely increase the prestige of Alabama throughout this country and in the far corners of the world where the fate of the Scottsboro boys has come to be the touchstone of American justice.

✶

WHILE HOME-TOWN MAYORS ENLIST THE local legionnaires and make red, white, and blue speeches about the right to work for the lords of Bethlehem, Republic, and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, labor is calling out its own reserves. The C. I. O. has an entente cordiale with the railway brotherhoods; Lewis has called out several thousand workers in seventeen captive mines owned by Bethlehem and Youngstown in an attempt to cut off their coal supply; the C. I. O. now threatens to tie up Great Lakes shipping in order to stop the supply of ore to the steel companies that continue to defy their organized workers; and Van A. Bittner has suggested that 600,000 United Mine Workers might be called upon to do their bit in keeping coal away from the struck steel plants. Mr. Lewis also rolled into place a battery of facts to show that William C. Potter of the Guaranty Trust Company and Eugene Grace of Bethlehem are offering inducements to Republic Steel to continue resisting the demands of the union for a signed contract in the hope of "breaking" the C. I. O. and also of preserving Bethlehem's present advantage over other steel companies in the matter of wages. Meanwhile Governor Davey's efforts at mediation have met with no success. The Wagner Act has been invoked against Inland Steel, and the Senate Civil Liberties Committee began investigating the Memorial Day massacre in South Chicago—the eighth victim has now died. Elsewhere labor is on the offensive in strikes designed to capture a greater share of the profits of recovery or to extend its organized strength. Concurrently the rivalry between C. I. O. and A. F. of L. mounts, with the Lewis forces gaining. The Brewery Workers' Union was the first A. F. of L. affiliate to refuse to pay an assessment to the federation's war chest to fight the C. I. O. And major defections in membership from the federation to the C. I. O. have taken place or are pending.

✶

THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD WENT C. I. O. at its annual convention in St. Louis. It also voted to take in other "white-collar" employees in newspaper offices, and thus became an industrial unon. It was reported that the Guild now has a membership of 11,112 as compared with 5,716 last year; under the industrial-union policy, the next year will see a much greater increase both in membership and in signed contracts, which now stand at forty-seven. For the rest, the Guild convention put itself on record as favoring a WPA job for every

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able-bodied man in the country who needs one; it backed enlargement of the Supreme Court, along with a constitutional amendment "putting basic rights beyond the reach of judicial quibble"; and recommended labor legislation designed to guarantee collective bargaining. On the whole the newspapermen in St. Louis revealed an enlightened attitude to the problems of the day which their bosses might well emulate.

*

THE SUM OF SOVIET EXECUTIONS INCREASES. Eight generals have gone to their death as traitors and left behind them a deep dismay which shows itself in every press dispatch from Moscow and even in the cautious statements of diplomats. Coming as a climax to more than a hundred executions of persons, many of them high officials and old revolutionaries, charged with a wide variety of crimes against the state, the death of the generals has created a new wave of rumor and speculation. Every one of the accused was a man of military repute. None was primarily a politician. Tukhachevsky in particular had been looked up to as an almost legendary hero. It can hardly be argued even by opponents of the Stalin regime that the government might be attempting to gain credit in the eyes of the bourgeois world by exterminating revolutionary extremists. On the contrary, the international effect of the trials is bound to be unfavorable. Already Germany is insinuating that the Russian army is not to be depended upon and that France struck a bad bargain in the Soviet agreement. Already diplomatic gossip is hinting that the British government will more openly favor Berlin and will try to draw France away from its Soviet connection. The recent executions have, in fact, provided a field day for the enemies of Moscow at a time when Soviet policy in Europe needs all the friends it can find.

*

THE MYSTERY THAT STILL OBSCURES THE earlier trials undoubtedly accounts for the suspicions that surround the present one. Certainly the official explanation is in this case the most plausible. In the absence of facts only speculation is possible, but it is not hard to believe that Soviet officers were involved in a plot planned and executed from Berlin in support of Hitler's announced ambitions in the Ukraine. For many months rumors of close relations between high officers in the Red Army and the Reichswehr have been widely repeated, and correspondents point out that most of the convicted generals came from the Baltic states, hotbeds of Nazi propaganda.

*

MUSSOLINI'S TERRORIST CAREER HAS REACHED a climax in the assassination of Carlo Roselli and his brother at the hands of fascist agents in Paris. Not since the murder of Matteotti by Mussolini's blackshirt gangsters in 1924 has Italian fascism dared so brazen a political crime, or one of such importance. Carlo Roselli was not just another émigré, eating his heart out in the French capital. He was the determined leader of the world's anti-fascist Italian forces. Against disheartening odds he had built up a powerful organization which maintained amazingly its underground contacts in Italy. Mussolini might pride himself on having sealed Italy against the world, but one import he could not prevent was that of news from the outside, and one export he could not prevent was news which revealed the weaknesses of the Italian regime. Two recent instances were the disclosure of Mussolini's censorship orders to the Italian press, which we discuss below, and the steady flow of letters from Italian prisoners captured by the Spanish loyalists to their families at home—a flow which the Italian anti-fascists in Spain did their best to expedite. Mussolini had reason to suspect Roselli of being involved in both these activities. It was his paper, *Giustizia e Libertà,* which first published the press censorship orders; and Roselli had just come back from fighting in the International Brigade in Spain. The only way that Mussolini knew to meet the danger that Roselli represented—the danger of the truth—was to lure him, with his quite unpolitical brother, into a trap and kill them both. Roselli's organization was effective because it was built on workers, peasants, and intellectuals, upon a new generation that no longer mourned the Italy of the past but fought resourcefully for the Italy of the future. If Mussolini thinks that by killing Roselli he can destroy this organization, he is self-deceived.

*

DICTATORS ARE EXCELLENT JOURNALISTS—in reverse. Mussolini's censorship orders to the Italian press from January 5 to May 10 have been published abroad, and they make far more interesting reading than the flabby and flamboyant fare dispensed to the people of Italy. To the shrewd observer they offer material for a reconstruction of Italian policy during that period. To the plain citizen in a democratic country they are at once a warning and a revelation of the enforced mass ignorance and delusion that lie just around the fascist corner. Take, for instance, the news from Spain:

> *January 18.* Don't publish any news of bombardments of inhabited centers by the Nationalists in Spain, and, above all, refrain from mentioning Italian or German aviators.
>
> *February 9.* Don't picture the military situation of the Spanish reds as disastrous. Be less optimistic.
>
> *March 5.* Absolutely suppress any news of the arrival in Naples of wounded volunteers from Spain. . . .

Above all, "Dun't esk!"

*

SURELY THE HALF-BRAINED MILLIONAIRE, whose story enthralled the American Medical Association convention at Atlantic City, is a figure fit for an epic of contemporary Americana. An unsuccessful business man, he underwent an operation which left him minus one lobe of his brain. In consequence he was minus also the faculties of sensitivity, perception, and discrimination with which the ordinary four-lobed individual is burdened. He no longer worried, he no longer could feel embarrassment, he no longer nagged his wife, he never

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

became tired, he lost all self-consciousness; in short, he developed, as the doctors described it, all the characteristics necessary to success in business. He could sell anybody anything—and did. In no time at all he made a million dollars. What the press delicately styled a "remarkable" feature of the case was that his intelligence declined in direct proportion as his riches increased. This should be of interest to Mr. Roosevelt. With the scientific evidence now at his disposal he will, we feel sure, change his attitude toward millionaire tax evaders to one of kindly sympathy. For tax evasion can doubtless be shown to be simply a pathological weakness of the lop-lobed.

Settling Strikes: Law and Reality

SETTLING strikes is a tough and tangled business. We only wish that it were as simple as it is sometimes depicted. Scratch your favorite columnist almost any one of these mornings, and you will discover a fervent crusader against the Wagner Act and a deep skeptic about the National Labor Relations Board. Scratch an editorial on Order or Anarchy? or The Industrial War, and you will find an indictment of the "one-sidedness" of the Wagner Act and the need for annexing to it all sorts of repressive labor legislation in order to correct its "bias." If we are to believe the capitalist apologists, all that is necessary in dealing with the strikes that surround us is an adherence to the law-and-order ideal, a whiff of tear or emetic gas, and a set of laws making it clear to labor that it has duties as well as rights.

If this were true, the daily thunder from the editorial sanctums of the newspapers would be the beginning and the end of wisdom. With a godlike assurance that sits well on thunderers, the editors dismiss the progress of decades of labor legislation with a phrase, and resolve complex issues of labor law with a flourish of the pen. Nor are they alone in this assurance. There is a tendency in labor circles as well to talk as if the Wagner Act, like the Dalai Lama, embodied some divine and messianic spark; as if it could serve as a cure-all for the ills of industrial struggle. All of which, on both sides, is not only nonsense but dangerous and mischievous nonsense to boot. There is no magic in the Wagner Act by itself which will or should make out of it a complete code of industrial relations.

The realists on both sides know this. You will not find among them either the dismissal of the act or the excessive dependence upon it that you find among the more naive capitalist and labor apologists. They have a perfectly understandable, hard-bitten, and pragmatic way of approaching the act. Some of the employers, of whom Myron Taylor of United States Steel is the archetype, have decided to accept the present arrangement as a necessary evil, and get over with it and on to the business of making profits. Of this conciliatory group, some are frightened to death of Lewis and are hastening to sign agreements with A. F. of L. unions; others respect the ability of the C. I. O. leaders and have decided that the future of American labor organization lies with them. There is another group of employers, however, who have decided to fight the Wagner Act in every way, direct and devious, that is at their command. While pretending lip-service to the letter of the act, they are actually sabotaging it at every turn. To this group belong Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and the other steel independents. It is they who are now resorting to the stratagem of pretending a willingness to bargain collectively with the steel unions, but refusing to reduce their agreements to writing. It is they who are shooting tear gas through the interstices of the Wagner Act. And behind them is a concerted drive of the smaller manufacturers, organized in the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association, who regard the present steel strike as the decisive battle in the new unionization movement.

The labor realists, on the other hand—and the C. I. O. leaders are nothing if not realists—take an equally hard-headed attitude toward the Wagner Act. They know that a law on paper cannot in itself achieve for them their demands: those demands can be achieved only by economic action in the field—organization, education, strikes. They welcome the Wagner Act because it does more than any other law has done in American industrial history to strip the capitalists of their enormous advantage and give labor at least a fighting chance. But they know that they can only make use of that chance if they fight.

It is that, more than anything else, that explains some of the seeming contradictions in the present steel strike. Many people ask, Why did not the steel unions immediately invoke the Wagner Act before they went out on strike? Why did they not call for an election under the Labor Board? The answer, of course, is that they were wholly unsure of having a majority at that time. The present strikes are not only revolts against the industrial tyranny of the Girdlers and the Purnells; they are also organizing strikes, calculated to unite the workers to the point where the Wagner Act can operate effectively. It is foolish to talk of collective bargaining until men are organized to bargain collectively with the already organized aggregates of capital. To those who ask why the Wagner Act empowers only the workers to invoke it and does not give the same power to the employers, the answer is clear. To give the employers this power would be to place in their hands a weapon for smashing any organizing drive before it even had a chance to get started. As soon as an employer saw evidences that his workers were organizing, he would invoke the Wagner Act and call for an election: and that would be the end of it. In short, legal and economic action complement each other in the industrial struggle. One begins where the other leaves off.

The sharpest legal issue that the Republic and Youngstown strikes have raised is whether the employer is compelled under the Wagner Act to reduce the collective bargaining agreement to writing. The employers, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their newspaper henchmen, profess to be completely certain that a written agreement is unnecessary. Like the now lamented Lawyers' Committee of the Liberty League, they have gratuitously provided the courts with an answer beforehand. In acting with such assurance, they are seeking to make a mockery of the Labor Board. The fact is that the federal courts have not yet passed specifically on this issue. The Labor Board has, however, given clear indications, in a whole line of administrative rulings, that when the issue is specifically presented, its own answer will probably be to require the reduction of the agreement to writing. In an early case (that of the Pierson Manufacturing Company) the Labor Board said, "Only a written agreement can give both parties the sense of certainty and security which is essential to lasting industrial peace." In 1934 in the National Aniline and Chemical case the board asserted that "if an employer assents to . . . proposals, the resulting agreement, unless reduced to writing, will be so unpractical of enforcement and so fruitful of disputes concerning terms that an insistence by an employer that he will go no further than to enter into an oral agreement may be evidence . . . of a denial of the right of collective bargaining." On July 7, 1936, the board held in the St. Joseph Stockyards case that the Wagner Act imposes upon employees the duty of embodying any understanding reached by genuine collective bargaining in a binding agreement for a definite term. The decision did not explicitly order a written agreement, but from its whole tenor (it quoted the National Aniline decision) it is obvious that such was what the board had in mind. For if a real meeting of the minds has been effected, a written agreement is a logical consequence. It is an insurance against later evasion and a guaranty of responsibility. And surely the employers who have been calling for more responsibility in labor relations should welcome such a guaranty.

The fact is that we are in the early stages of the fashioning of a new body of labor law. We have already, in the rulings of the National Labor Relations Board, a growing body of administrative decisions on labor relations under the Wagner Act—a body of decisions which is admirable in its ability and its scrupulous fairness. Publicity is given to the cases in which labor unions have won their demands, but little is said about the large number of instances in which labor complaints have been thrown out. The final word, under our system, lies with the Supreme Court. The Wagner Act decisions have settled many issues, but by no means all. We are sorry to see so careful a commentator as Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* write in his column that Chief Justice Hughes "stated with exactness that no employer is required by the Wagner Act to make a wage agreement." We assume Mr. Krock refers to the Jones and Laughlin decision. But unfortunately what the Chief Justice "stated with exactness" on this point was clearly a dictum, not a necessary part of the decision of the court and not taken as such. The rulings of the board itself, moreover, have been consistently broader than this dictum would tend to indicate.

The point may be slight, but it is symptomatic. In the present state of labor law, it is best to await the rulings of the Labor Board and the decisions of the Supreme Court, and to keep one's eye on the economic realities of the labor struggle.

The Doctor's Dilemma

THE net results of the American Medical Association deliberations at Atlantic City have turned out to be quite different from the impression made by the first newspaper reports. The record of the convention as a whole shows that narrow economic self-interest still dominates the policies of medical officialdom. Whatever recognition was given to the government's direct interest in the health of the people was dictated more by a desire of the doctors to feather their own nests than by concern over the economic problems of the public. The doctors want to get something quite specific out of the government for themselves: compensation for treatment of the indigent. For some years past a drive to this end has been carried on in medical circles—even though nothing has been said about reducing the high fees which have been justified as compensation for free treatment of the poor. One of the proposals of the New York delegation, which did not make the headlines, was perfectly frank about it. "The immediate problem," it said, "is provision of adequate medical care for the indigent, *the costs to be met from public funds*" (italics ours).

But it is not the indigent who suffer most from the organizational shortcomings of American medicine. It is the wage-earners and the middle-bracket families, whose heavy and unexpected doctors' and hospital bills have become a pressing national issue. The only possible solution of this problem is insurance in some form—payments of relatively small amounts made regularly into a fund which supplies medical care, or from which the bills are paid when illness occurs. But the A. M. A. remains as hostile as ever to any such proposals. The Board of Trustees' report, indorsed by the convention, said that the action taken at Atlantic City "does not constitute in any sense of the word indorsement of health insurance, either voluntary or compulsory, as a means of meeting the situation." Groups of enlightened doctors and patients who set up such plans will presumably be persecuted by organized medicine in the future as they have been in the past.

Apart from this implied condemnation of health insurance in any form, the final record shows very little action by the convention to meet a problem that challenges immediate and decisive action. The deciduous teeth of the New York resolution were carefully extracted in the report that was finally adopted. Even the qualified support of the extension of public-health activities—provided local doctors indorse them—was dropped. The House of Delegates did not openly demand government compensation for treatment of the indigent nor did it give its official sanction to the responsibility of the government for the health of the people. It merely offered to make its "records, reports, source material, and experience" available to any

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

governmental or other qualified agency . . . contemplating the development or operation of plans for medical care"—to what end can easily be guessed.

The emasculation of the New York delegation's demand that treatment of the indigent be paid for by the government shows that those in control of the convention see in it a new doctor's dilemma. If the doctor calls on the government to help him by meeting these costs he admits the direct interest of the government in the health of the people. But how then can the doctor consistently oppose the most obvious way in which the government can be of help to the public—through the provision of some system by which people of small and moderate means can budget their medical bills? The doctors cannot have it both ways. If they grasp one horn of their dilemma they will more easily be impaled upon the other. But in the long run a sound system of health insurance would be for their own interest, as official medicine in Great Britain has freely admitted. Unfortunately American medicine has been as slow to recognize its long-range interests as have the industrialists. By fighting off reasonable measures such as health insurance and voluntary group-payment plans the organized doctors are paving the way for more drastic forms of state control and more extreme action by the exasperated consumers of medical service.

Winship Must Go

THE pot of discontent still bubbles ominously in Puerto Rico. Fourteen young men have just gone on trial in connection with the massacre at Ponce on Palm Sunday. Governor Winship in a report to Senator Tydings has denied the chief charges arising from the inquiry into the Ponce killings described by Arthur Garfield Hays, chairman of the investigating committee, in *The Nation* of June 5. Pedro Albizu Campos and seven Nationalist Party associates were immured the other day in Atlanta penitentiary for conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States, and eighteen hours later—on June 8—some unidentified men in a car fired a dozen shots at Robert A. Cooper, the district judge who sentenced Campos.

The fire under the pot is the intense desire for freedom and civil rights that animates the Puerto Rican masses. Torn though the island is by political differences and social discord, unable to agree on a single measure of independence or autonomy, the one overwhelming popular impulse is to end the repressions associated with American rule.

In commenting on the Hays inquiry two weeks ago we said that the report had asserted that civil liberties were dead in Puerto Rico. This statement brought a quick reply from Ernest Gruening, Chief of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions, who pointed out that the report had used words exactly contrary. We accept the correction and express regret that our comment was written from a résumé of the report before the full text reached us. But it is perhaps significant that the résumé conveyed an impression fairly summarized in our quoted words. And it is equally significant that the report's statement that civil liberties still exist was but a mitigating fragment in a general bill of infringements of those same liberties. Let us quote a few pertinent lines from the conclusions of the Hays document:

> 1. The facts show that the affair of March 21 in Ponce was a "massacre."
>
> 2. Civil liberties have been repeatedly denied during the last nine months by order of Governor Blanton Winship. He has failed to recognize the right of free speech and assemblage. Force has been threatened toward those who would exercise these rights.
>
> 3. The Ponce massacre was due to the denial by the police of the civil rights of citizens to parade and assemble. . . .
>
> 4. The regulation of the University of Puerto Rico . . . is designed to curb academic freedom and should be canceled.
>
> 5. The people demand and have a right to free speech, free assemblage, and to petition by parade for a redress of grievances. . . .
>
> The commission does not want this report to be interpreted to mean that civil liberties are dead in Puerto Rico. The mere fact that this commission has held public meetings both in Ponce and San Juan is an indication to the contrary. There has been a free press; there have not been prosecutions for criminal libel. The claim of discrimination in work because of men's views is not sustained by evidence, although suspicion is still there. . . . Civil rights are never dead until they die in the hearts of the people. Governments do not make liberty; the people do. . . .

The answer of the Governor of Puerto Rico on this point is not to our minds convincing. He flatly denies all abrogations of the people's rights by the authorities and makes the broad statement that in his belief "there is no place either in Latin America or in the continental United States where civil liberties have in reality been given wider scope." He stresses the violent methods of the Nationalists and the need of repression. The Nationalists are undoubtedly extremists; they have resorted to acts of terrorism from which they must be restrained by force and they must be disarmed if they possess dangerous weapons. But surely this necessary police job should be accomplished without the hysterical violence that resulted in the slaughter at Ponce.

The truth is that in spite of good intentions and large public works the authorities have alienated a great proportion, perhaps a majority, of the Puerto Rican people by administrative measures which outrage their pride and their intense belief in personal freedom. Civil liberties may not be stone dead in Puerto Rico; but they have been amputated and mutilated. We do not pretend that the basic troubles of the island can be cured by the simple act of protecting those liberties. But we are certain that the long, complex process of social and political reform will be facilitated by such a measure of appeasement. To achieve even this elementary step one immediate change must be made. Governor Winship must be removed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Nation's" Future

THE NATION has been sold twice in the last two years. The first time was in the spring of 1935, when Oswald Garrison Villard, owner since 1918 and editor from 1918 to 1932, sold the paper to Maurice Wertheim. This week *The Nation* has again changed owners, coming into the hands of one of its editors, Freda Kirchwey. The occasion tempts us to a few reflections on the source of the journal's strength, of that quality which remains unchanged through changing times. In the seventy-two years of its existence, first as an affiliate of the New York *Evening Post,* later as an independent journal, *The Nation* has spoken the opinion of its editors. This was as true under the individual direction of Oswald Garrison Villard as under the group control of a board. It was true under the ownership of Maurice Wertheim. The persons who have directed the destiny of the paper have recognized the crucial facts that people can only write well what they believe and that editorial opinion hammered out by a group of like-minded persons is usually better than that of any one of them. This double-barreled policy is not always a simple one to carry out. It calls for a subtle combination of tolerance and pugnacity. Agreement reached through mere acquiescence is as feeble as agreement forced by bulldozing. Only the honest effort of minds to meet produces potent editorial thinking.

While Mr. Villard was editor, *The Nation* passed through a time of strenuous testing. The last year of the war, the fateful months of treaty making, the revolutionary upheavals in Europe, the years of post-war corruption and reckless expansion in American life, the predestined plunge into economic depths—all these forced *The Nation* and the men and women who made it to mighty efforts of clear vision and sanity. Throughout those years Mr. Villard acted as editor in the best liberal tradition. He was steadfast in his opinion but equally committed to the democratic method. He was a constitutional rather than an absolute head. And under his direction the character of the paper emerged more and more clearly. Looking back, we should describe it as courageous and outspoken and free from guile; well informed and catholic in its interests; moral and sometimes naive; sharp and challenging in attack and rather lacking in constructive program; positive and free in its manner of expression. It was radical without being dogmatic or even wholly consistent. Above all it was independent; it spoke its collective mind completely; it had no overt or unspoken commitments except to the shaping of a decent social order.

Financial independence and independence of opinion too seldom go together in journalism. The more militant the paper, the less has been its chance of financial security. *The Nation* was no exception to this rule, although its losses were surprisingly small in proportion to its budget. Throughout those years losses were met, and *The Nation* sustained as an independent journal, largely through the courage and personal sacrifice of the editor and the help of a few steadfast friends. Cynics referred to the liberal journals as the "deficit group," but the term concealed many virtues, among them faith and hope and charity.

In 1932 Mr. Villard turned over the direction of *The Nation* to its editors in order to follow a no less active career as writer and speaker, continuing to contribute to the paper a weekly page of comment under his own name. Did the character of *The Nation* change? Some of its old readers thought so, but neither the circulation nor the general run of correspondence reflected any marked difference. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt presented new problems, demanded more careful analysis and sympathetic criticism than the do-nothing conservatism of previous administrations. The rise of Hitler crystallized and brought into focus the desperate maladjustments of post-war Europe. In addition the editors were faced with problems of internal adjustment, editorial and financial, under a strictly cooperative regime. But *The Nation* for two years achieved a state of self-support reached only once before in its history—in 1928.

Maurice Wertheim had for many years served, with other liberals, as a member of *The Nation's* board of directors. He had advised the editors during the period following Mr. Villard's retirement. When after two solvent years a deficit again loomed in 1935, Mr. Wertheim offered to buy the paper and help it to its financial feet. He did this in full agreement not with the editorial policy of the editors but with the more fundamental policy of independent editorial control. Through the Civic Aid Foundation he owned but refrained from operating the paper. He contributed financial help and advice and occasionally a timely dose of skepticism. And under this generous treatment the paper flourished.

The times helped too. Never in our experience has the demand for clear-cut, radical analysis been so great. Liberalism itself has achieved a new respect, especially among its former left-wing opponents. The example of fascism in Europe and a half-conscious dread of similar repression in the United States has led even the more dogmatic radicals to seek salvation in democratic method and liberal approach. And liberalism itself has taken warning and toughened its defenses against the day of testing. As a representative of radical democratic thought, of realistic liberalism, *The Nation* has drawn in thousands of new readers who have become friends and advocates.

Maurice Wertheim's reasons for deciding to sell *The Nation* were expressed in his statement in last week's issue. He differed from our policies; and he believed that editorial and financial control should be combined, that absentee ownership was anomalous and unsound. The sale was agreed upon, announced, and has this week been consummated. We are grateful to Mr. Wertheim both for his help and for his decision to sell. We believe that militant liberalism has come of age and can pay its own way. In our opinion the necessity of self-support can only heighten editorial initiative and that quick sense of the public mind that creates live journalism. *The Nation* intends to support its own views by its own efforts. One of our most venerable friends, Henry W. Nevinson, has adopted as his motto words which we do not hesitate to appropriate for *The Nation* in the years ahead—"The older, the bolder."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Looks at Steel

BY THOMAS L. STOKES

Washington, June 13

STEEL still sits, a bird of uneasy omen, above the Administration's door. Summer finds President Roosevelt and the National Labor Relations Board plagued and confounded by the persistent refusal of three Midwest independents—Republic Steel, Inland Steel, and Youngstown Sheet and Tube—to sign a contract with their workers, a refusal which has provoked and prolongs bitter and bloody industrial warfare. The situation is further complicated politically by the recurrent smoke screens sent up by the companies to obscure the issues from the public. The most noxious is the "freedom-of-the-mails" issue raised by the Post Office Department's denial of the use of the mails for strike-breaking, now the subject of a Senatorial inquiry.

As this article was written, President Roosevelt was under renewed pressure to intervene and attempt to bring about a solution. John L. Lewis called for federal intervention to restrain Tom Girdler, chairman of Republic Steel, "before he turns the steel district into a bloody shambles" and suggested also that state governors be induced to close the mills until the strike is settled.

Meanwhile the National Labor Relations Board laid the groundwork for a legal test on the question of requiring a signed contract under the Wagner Act. The Labor Board has at last found a morsel upon which it can try its teeth. It has issued a complaint against Inland Steel charging violation of the act. It alleges that negotiations with the workers were in bad faith, that the company did not and does not intend to enter an agreement, and that therefore the company is guilty of violation of the act even though the terms proposed by the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee are acceptable.

The NLRB thus skirts about the vexing question of whether there must be a signed contract, but this complaint, set for hearing June 21 at Chicago, is expected to become a test case on that point which will take the Wagner Act through the courts again and up to the Supreme Court for clarification of the statute. It is that for which the Labor Board is preparing. The way was opened for action by the complaint filed by the workers. Inland offers good proving ground as it is estimated to be about 80 to 85 per cent organized. Meanwhile, the Labor Board and the Justice Department have investigators in the field seeking other grounds of action.

The confusion still existing over the question of when a collective-bargaining agreement is an agreement, as well as over phases of the Wagner Act—recognized as a vague document when passed—readily explains the insistence of President Roosevelt on Supreme Court reform and his caustic criticism of the high court for closing its door and dispersing. The recent Supreme Court decision left many questions unanswered. The bosses of little steel squat before what they think is a loophole and thumb their noses at Washington.

As the legal machinery lumbers into action, the politicians gnaw on the "freedom of the mails," the latest of red herrings. This was the contribution of Republic Steel. The story is being exploited in all its details, with all sorts of interpretations placed upon the trick of Republic lawyers who took packages of food to post offices at Niles and Warren, Ohio, and got the expected refusal to shuttle the supplies by mail service through picket lines to beleaguered loyal workers.

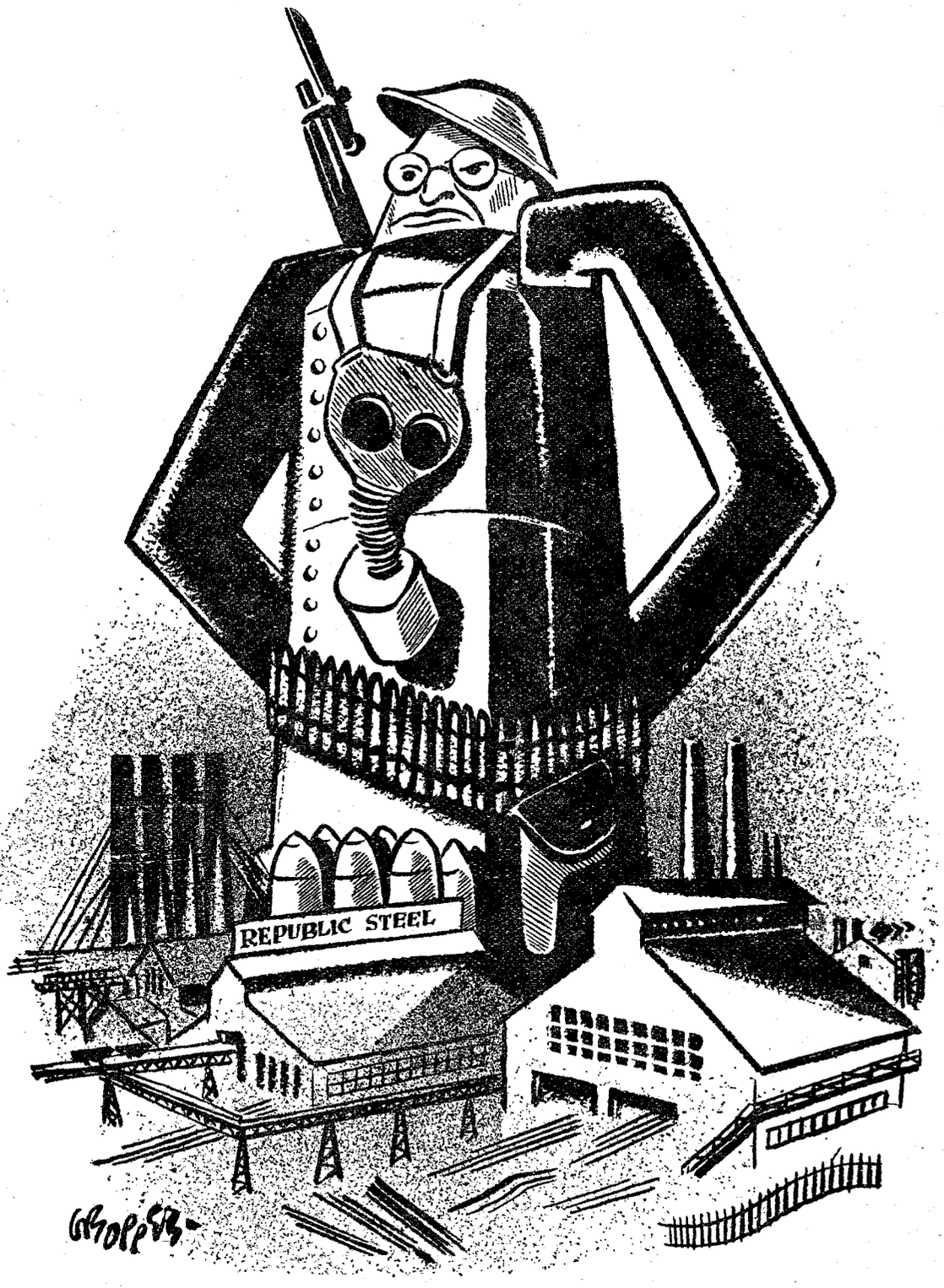
The dapper and energetic Senator H. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire caught the red herring on the fly and flung it into the Senate. Enraged reactionaries pounced hungrily upon it. As a result, the Senate Post Office Committee is currently engaged in what we call a "preliminary inquiry" that may blossom into a full-fledged investigation of goings on among the little brothers of steel.

For as government is constituted in the New Deal, these red herrings are no longer taken at face value. Administration lieutenants are alert and eager to detect whether they stink as well as shine in the moonlight. Senator Joe Guffey of Pennsylvania rose to this occasion. He was quick with a counter-proposal to do a bit of investigating of tactics used by the companies against their workers. He asks whether they have sequestered machine-guns and, as he calls it, "other war paraphernalia." He would inquire into the "moral conduct of both parties." And, finally, he wants to know whether the companies are violating the Wagner Act. Senator Guffey has permission to call his own witnesses. Under capable Administration guidance this investigation might be very valuable in throwing light on some unsavory practices of the independents.

Grover Cleveland is being dug out of his innocuous desuetude as a Democratic symbol and extolled anew by Republicans for using United States troops to open the railroads for the mails—and thus break the Pullman strike. No one, however, has mentioned the subsequent report of Cleveland's special investigatng commission which condemned the Pullman Company and way back there in the hard-boiled nineties suggested that employers should recognize trade unions, both for their own good and that of the workers.

Mr. Girdler and his colleagues in the strike have been castigated by Senator Guffey, who said, "Honest men do not hesitate to reduce to writing and to sign their names to an agreement previously reached in verbal discussion. . . . They say that under the Wagner law they do not have to sign a contract. I say that the obvious intent of the Wagner law, once an agreement has been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Portrait of Tom Girdler

reached, is to sign such an agreement. It is true that specifically the Wagner law provides for collective bargaining; that is, the company must meet with representatives of its workmen and seek to reach an agreement. It is possible that an agreement cannot be reached in certain situations. Obviously, where there is no agreement there can be no signed contract. But in the present instance these steel companies that have brought strikes to the nation's number one industry say they will accept the agreement. They have reached an agreement. But they will not sign."

The NLRB has assumed that signing of a contract, in the event an agreement is reached, is a natural and necessary conclusion to collective bargaining. A year ago it ruled on the general question in the St. Joseph Stockyards case, in which the company was willing to negotiate on all matters but declined to enter an agreement. The board said: "The act imposes upon employers the duty to meet with the duly designated representatives of their employees, to bargain in good faith with them in a genuine attempt to achieve an understanding on the proposals and counter-proposals advanced, and, finally, if an understanding is reached, to embody that understanding in a binding agreement for a definite term."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spain: A Socialist View

BY NORMAN THOMAS

THE train from Valencia to Barcelona pulled into the station on time. It was a glorious morning on one of the most beautiful seacoasts in the world. Our friends met us with the bad news that early that morning Barcelona had been bombed; that no military objective had been achieved, and no public building hit, but that much devastation had been wrought in residential districts and perhaps a hundred lives lost.

We visited first one of the working-class districts most damaged. What we saw and heard was pretty much a repetition of what we had seen and heard in Valencia when German or Italian fliers had bombed it twenty-four hours earlier. The principal emotion of the people was anger. If Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco think that these attacks are destroying the morale of the Spaniards, they are entirely mistaken. The dictators have not put enough planes into the Spanish war to destroy great cities as they destroyed Guernica. Foreign aviators can rain sudden death or a living horror worse than death upon sleeping Spanish cities and the women and children in them. But they cannot conquer Spain.

Yet this murder of women and children is the background for that bombing of the Deutschland which had such grave international repercussions. I do not profess to know for certain whether the German or the Spanish version of that incident is correct. In no case was Hitler justified. He took his despicable retaliation by bombarding Almeria, a city in no way responsible for the act of aviators over the harbor of Palma. He asked for no adjudication of fact and no reparation before he thus brutally avenged his "honor." The European press, and for all I know the American, in discussing this whole affair largely lost sight of the fact that, as every Spaniard along the Mediterranean coast knows, Majorca is in Italian hands, and that it is the base for attacks like those on Valencia and Barcelona. The men and women gathered among the ruins of their own or their friends' homes were not cursing their Spanish foes in a civil war but the German and Italian "assassins," whose attacks may not even have been known to Franco until after they occurred. For a rough parallel imagine that during our American Civil War the English had occupied Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard and (supposing aviation to have been then developed) used them as a base for night attacks upon Boston and New York.

I dwell upon this because perhaps my chief impression of Spain is the degree to which this accursed war is a war of the fascist dictators. Before me as I write are two books; one, Spielhagen's collection of documents showing Nazi complicity in Franco's revolt; the other, the Spanish White Book, which overwhelmingly proves the case against the Italian military units which fought at Guadalajara. This is only part of the evidence that Germany and Italy are making war on Spain.

The fascists' claim that they fight only against "Russian intervention" or "Spanish bolshevism" is utterly false. Russian aid to Spain has been very valuable, but it has been definitely limited in amount and was not begun until after German and Italian intervention was an established fact. As for "bolshevism," Spanish Communists are so thoroughly subordinating every revolutionary consideration to the winning of the war that there is a Spanish jest to the effect that if a man is too conservative to join the left Republicans, he joins the Communists.

Indeed, it was for us a grimly ironic experience on coming out of Spain to read in certain of the English and French papers new talk of Spanish "anarchy" or "bolshevism"—the learned editors were very careless in their interchangeable use of the words—as a result of the Deutschland incident. Of "anarchy" in the popular sense of disorder and violence there is amazingly little in Loyalist Spain.

I went with two American newspapermen and two Spaniards, a guide and a chauffeur, to the Teruel front. Twice in rather thinly populated mountain country we had trouble with the car; both times we Americans visited farmhouses while our chauffeur caught a ride in a military car to the nearest large village in search of an inner tube. Our hosts reported not only that all was quiet in their village, but that it had been quiet even in the early days of the Franco revolt when churches were often fascist fortresses and committees of the revolutionary workers were sometimes responsible for considerable violence. Their priest, they explained, was a good man and a worker, so he was not hurt.

The civilian population in Spain is at work. The cities show more than the normal activity. Schools are in session, trains run, and trams also, despite some trouble about fuel. When we first went to Barcelona there were still barricades in the streets, after the disturbances early in May, but the people went about their normal business, and I walked with officials from place to place with far less fuss and show of actual or potential force than in some other countries where there is no war.

Of anarchy, or anarcho-syndicalism, in the exact sense there is more in Spain than in any other country. And it has certainly not been proved that Anarchist philosophy and methods of organization work sufficiently well for present-day society in times of war or peace. Plenty of stories, some of them funny and some of them serious, can be told of Anarchist methods in Catalonia and at the front. The Communists and other enemies of the Anarchists charge that their ranks contain hundreds of racketeers and fascists. Yet I received the distinct im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pression that many of the best elements in Spain, as well as, perhaps, a few of the worst, could be found in the C. N. T. Certain it is that in the early days of Franco's revolt it was the C. N. T. together with the U. G. T. —the latter generally Socialist in philosophy—that saved Spain from Franco; and the rather considerable work of collectivization which has been done has been almost entirely the achievement of the labor unions and not of the political parties. The general testimony was that these unions are now doing a surprisingly good job in running many factories, stores, hotels, and transport lines.

Unquestionably the grim business of war requires a far more unified and disciplined army and a far more centralized government than Spanish Anarchists or the extreme Spanish regionalists like. That army is being built. I saw something of the process under a very high type of commander at the Teruel front. He was doing more than building an army. He was fighting illiteracy, and he was keeping something of the revolutionary fraternity between officers and men without sacrificing discipline.

Supplies far more than man-power are the problem for Loyalist Spain today. Once, perhaps twice, the International Brigade saved Madrid and rendered other invaluable service, but today it is not men, except highly trained specialists, which the Spanish government needs. It is, of course, to a considerable extent, arms and ammunition. It is such everyday necessities as milk and wheat and soap. There is a shortage of these things, but Spain is by no means starving, and I judge that the problem of feeding the civilian population as well as the army is serious only in Madrid and Bilbao. Spain has every reason for pride in the way it has been able to care for refugees—men, women, and especially children.

The Spanish are a brave, sometimes violent, but essentially non-warlike and non-military people. They want peace. Over and over they said to us, "Come and see us when our country is not cursed by war." They do not want peace badly enough to yield to Franco, and it will be a tragedy if the final victory over Franco requires their militarization. The best-informed opinion that I could discover, both in Spain and in France, is to the effect that the victory over Franco would soon be won if Mussolini and Hitler would discontinue their active support. A bona fide withdrawal of all foreign soldiers, volunteers or regulars, would be overwhelmingly to the advantage of the Loyalists, and it would give them the chance, which in their hearts all Spaniards want, to settle their own problems.

We Americans should of course continue and increase the kind of aid that the North American and medical-aid committees are giving. But our greatest service will be to bring whatever practicable pressure we can upon the fascist dictators to stop their war. Now that our country has gone in for "neutrality," it is clearly the duty of the President, the Congress, and the people to consider by what right we continue to trade with Germany and Italy if they continue their present war on Spain. In Paris, just before I sailed, I read in *Time* (May 24) that twelve out of eighteen rightist planes temporarily interned in France were of American make. I raised this question at the American embassy, which expressed grave doubts of the accuracy of the story. It is a matter which must be looked into by lovers of justice.

Sooner or later, I repeat, unless the fascist dictators greatly increase their present efforts in Spain, Franco will be defeated. During the two months that I was in Europe I observed a marked shift in English and French sympathy in the direction of the Loyalist government. In so far as the British government is concerned, I am afraid that its slight shift in sentiment is at least partly born of its conviction that a Loyalist victory will not, after all, mean the triumph of social revolution. Certainly there is a disquieting tendency in Spain to put the winning of British favor too much in the foreground of domestic planning.

As matters stand, it is quite true that the first task in Spain is to win the war. If Franco should win, it would be impossible to exaggerate the consequences to Spain and the world of that triumph of reaction. War or no war, the building of a happier new society requires the cooperation, not the alienation, of the peasants. In that society there must be freedom of religion. I think that the Roman Catholic churches, which outside of the Basque country are now closed, can and will be opened in adequate number whenever there are definite assurances that the church will act as a religious body and not as a landlord or as a major counter-revolutionary force.

But Spain's woes have sprung primarily not out of the monarchy which has been abolished, or out of fascism which has not yet been established, or even out of clericalism, but out of the old order, partly capitalist and partly still feudal, which the workers have already taken long steps to alter. If these steps are retraced, or if they are checked by some unsatisfactory compromise in the name of winning the war, there may perhaps be temporary peace, but it will not be long before a new and violent struggle will break out. Even a temporary peace satisfactory to the dominant groups in England and France may be at the price of a quasi-military dictatorship in Republican Spain. I do not say this because I have turned Anarchist, or because I support the P.O.U.M. (temporarily allied with the Anarchists, whose positive program is not theirs) especially in its more recent policy; the contrary is emphatically the case. I say it because I was disquieted not to find a more definite economic and social program in the new Cabinet's policy or among the leaders of the parties which support it.

Caballero's downfall was probably due in part to his shortcomings as an executive, of which his critics make much. The new Cabinet seems to have a very genuine popular support based on the hope of greater vigor and efficiency in the war. While I was talking with Señor Negrin, the Prime Minister, he was called to the telephone and on his return told me that the majority of the council of the U. G. T. had voted support of his government. He also said that he had private assurances of support from some of the Anarchist leaders. It is certain, however, that no one in the present government represents as completely as did Caballero the aspirations of the workers who originally were responsible both for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

checking Franco and for advancing the social revolution.

But perhaps I am borrowing trouble. We friends of Spain with our limited knowledge have no right at long range to try to dictate her future. If in the modern world the future is to be a happy one, it must be in comradeship with the workers of other lands. Spain is not in a strong enough position to achieve socialism within her own borders against the active hostility of the capitalist world. Nevertheless, the Spanish government and the Spanish workers should not be subjected to the dictation of any nation, be it Russia, England, or France.

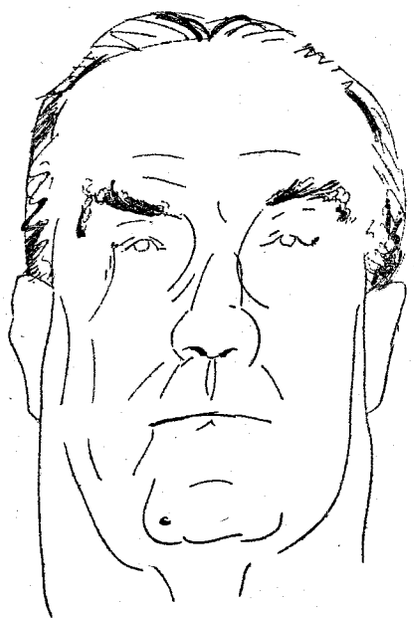
Certainly our immediate task is to give the wisest and most generous help we can to Loyalist Spain in its struggle against fascism. More than any one factor which I discovered in Europe, it has been Spanish resistance to fascism which has checked its onward march and given new hope to lovers of true democracy. To aid Loyalist Spain is not an act of generosity; it is a debt of honor.

Stanley Baldwin Steps Down

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, June 1

MR. BALDWIN has gone with all the fanfare of trumpets that modern publicity can devise. An earl now, and a Knight of the Garter, he retires to a dignified leisure at the highest point his reputation has reached. With him go Mr. MacDonald—already half-forgotten by the public—and Mr. Runciman, of whom it is perhaps simplest to say that he has spent the last six years in action intended to show how mistaken and futile were the principles he expressed in nearly a generation of previous political life.



Drawing by Bert Hayden

The new government is not, in essentials, any different from the old. Mr. Chamberlain differs, no doubt, very considerably from Mr. Baldwin. Precise, unsensitive, narrow-minded, unimaginative, he will carry on the work of reaction without that touch of organized simplicity which was so distinctive a trait in his predecessor. There will be no real change in policy under his direction, but the left will learn, far more incisively than it did under Mr. Baldwin, that "national government" is the British capitalist's alternative to fascism.

Most of the old team goes on, though there has been some shuffling of offices. Sir John Simon goes to the Exchequer. Partly, I think, that is the result of hard bargaining; he wished to mark himself out as the second man in the government. Mr. Chamberlain, after all, is sixty-eight. Mr. Duff Cooper, having made a mess at the War Office, is transferred—even the London *Times* cannot understand why—to the Admiralty. Sir Samuel Hoare, who is a careful administrator, goes to the Home Office; Mr. Hore-Belisha, who has at least a zest for publicity, goes to the War Office, where his special gifts will be valuable in that recruiting campaign in which Mr. Duff Cooper so notably failed. Mr. Oliver Stanley, having filled two Cabinet posts without energy or distinction, is now given a third opportunity at the Board of Trade; and Lord Stanhope, who is pleasant without being remarkable, becomes Minister for Education. Ramsay MacDonald leaves his son in office as a legacy; and Lord de la Warr and Dr. Burgin are brought in to preserve the balance as it stood in the Baldwin Cabinet. Both having becomes Tories in all but name, their promotion implies no real change. Mr. Chamberlain keeps Mr. Eden and Lord Halifax; they, with Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare, are likely to be the effective inner Cabinet.

What, of course, really matters is the resignation of Mr. Baldwin. I think his exit will in a brief time make a considerable difference to the status of the government in the country. He had the power to cast a spell over both the House of Commons and the electorate. What was his secret? In foreign affairs, at least, his record is a grave one. Manchoukuo, Abyssinia, Spain—he bears a heavy responsibility for each of these. He helped to wreck the disarmament conference; he has cooperated in the virtual annihilation of the League. His public professions of faith to great international ideals have been compatible with actions each of which has been a major incident in their betrayal. In domestic policy the warm advocate of social reform and industrial peace, he has no single important statute to his credit in the first realm, while in the second he has cooperated in legislation attacking the trade unions, the cooperative movement, the unemployed, and, in the Sedition Act, the means of free expression. The man who won the last general election on a platform of peace proceeded without warning to the largest rearmament program in British history; and he cheerfully confessed to the House of Commons that he concealed his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intentions from the electorate because he feared defeat if he avowed them.

Mr. Baldwin was not a simple man, though he liked to pose as such. In one sense, indeed, he fulfilled Bagehot's definition of the ideal statesman—he was an extraordinary man of ordinary opinions. His hold on the British mind has been exceptional; only Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lloyd George have rivaled it, in their very different ways, in our time. Not very energetic, trusting his intuition rather than seeking the reason of things, skeptical of the really first-rate man, wholly traditional in his major assumptions, how did he manage to retain power for fifteen years? He was in office twice as long as Mr. Asquith, and three times as long as Mr. Lloyd George. Man after man challenged his supremacy in the Tory party—the press lords, Mr. Churchill, Sir Robert Horne, Mr. Amery; he defeated them all without difficulty. What has been the secret of Mr. Baldwin's ascendancy?

First and foremost, I think, his remarkable intuitive insight into the Britain with which he was dealing. It was a tired Britain, unprepared for, even afraid of, any major innovations. It shrank from the burden of thought about fundamentals. With Russia on one side, with Italy and Germany on the other, the price of radical reconstruction seemed to most men too high; and in any case the left never inspired them—look at the record of the two Labor governments—to believe that this was possible. Mr. Baldwin at 10 Downing Street was an assurance that the old ways would go on. He seemed to the man in the street to keep the ship of state on an even keel. He was always genial, never remote, spoke his thoughts simply, was, within the framework of his assumptions, as honorable as anyone in politics, shrewd in handling men. The extremists of his own party never captured him. He had the great art of speaking his conservatism in liberal accents. He knew, as few men have ever known, how to appeal to the indifferent voter who does not desire disturbance. He used the great platitudes of conventional life as his platform; and millions voted for him in the belief that when they chose him they were securing the continuance of national habits. Above all, he knew how to play the great game of politics in such a way that he always gave the appearance of being an amateur making his way among professionals. Mr. Baldwin made himself a legend, and out of it grew the sense that he was entitled, as no other figure in politics, to respect and affection. That was a triumph it is difficult to exaggerate. It is, also, a triumph achieved by no other figure in the post-war years in Great Britain.

How deep it went was shown by the abdication of last December. Whether one agrees or disagrees with his policy on that occasion, one cannot, I think, deny that he was the only man in Great Britain who could have fulfilled it successfully. His critics could make no headway against him. He held the House of Commons in the hollow of his hand. He staked his whole existence against the most popular prince of modern times, and so organized the issue that he had an overwhelming public sentiment in his favor. That was a triumph of character the like of which British politics has not seen in my lifetime. It illustrates, as does no other incident, the hold Mr. Baldwin had on the popular mind. And to depart from the scene at the moment when the glow of the achievement is at its full—when, so to say, it was he who was crowned the other day in the Abbey—shows the insight of the man abundantly. Never again will his stature be so high. He goes universally respected. He leaves all the problems to his successors.

That is the clue through which alone a proper assessment of Mr. Baldwin can be made. The bills have yet to come in for the policies of which he has been sponsor. He has defeated any serious attempt at industrial or social reconstruction. His transformation of Great Britain into a protectionist country, added to his move toward a closed imperial economic system, makes the future of the staple export trades a grave problem for future statesmen. He has killed both disarmament and collective security as the price of maintaining a temporary peace; we have still to learn how many men must die because Mr. Baldwin preferred the old balance-of-power politics to the new League system. In a word, he has maintained the old habituations by postponing all questions of adjustment to the urgencies of a new world. His skill has been that men have been persuaded to gratitude for that maintenance. A few years from now the perspective of Baldwinism will, I predict, look utterly different from its contemporary appearance. The judgment then, I believe, will be that in a period which offered immense opportunities for creative adventure, Mr. Baldwin deliberately put them on one side. He preserved a superficial national unity by evading the problems the nation has sooner or later to face. He kept the peace by a systematic surrender of the opportunity of dealing with the causes of war. He was a caretaker, rather than a constructor. It was his advantage that he dealt with a Britain that he was able to persuade to shrink from confronting the cost of constructive effort.

I do not deny for a moment that his has been a very considerable feat. Fifteen years ago Mr. Baldwin was hardly known in Great Britain; he retires as a national institution. The difficulty of his retirement lies in the fact that Mr. Chamberlain has none of Mr. Baldwin's healing touch. We are moving toward a period of labor unrest and intensified international crisis. Mr. Chamberlain does not understand the first, and the assumptions upon which he approaches the second belong to that habit of power-politics which, as the years before 1914 made clear, is incapable of resolving its problems. Mr. Baldwin can say with Sir Robert Walpole—whom in a way he curiously resembles—that "there have been ten thousand men killed this year in Europe and not a single Englishman." One wonders whether Mr. Chamberlain will be able to say as much on the day of his retirement. If he finds himself a war minister, the key to the conflict in which Great Britain will be involved will, I feel confident, be found in the international policies of the post-war years, for which the major responsibility belongs to Mr. Baldwin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spain's Homeless Million

BY LELAND STOWE

AT LEAST 5 out of every 100 Spaniards are homeless today because of the fascist invasion of Spain. Another way of saying this is that, according to Valencia's Ministry of Public Health, there were 1,250,000 war refugees in Loyalist territory alone at the beginning of April. This means 1,250,000 uprooted, helpless, penniless, and hungry human beings out of a total population of 24,000,000. Transpose these figures into an equivalent ratio for the United States and the result is eloquent. One need only suppose that artillery and aerial bombardment had driven 6,500,000 trans-Mississippi Americans into the states east of Old Man River; that the nation was fighting with its back to the wall; that federal funds were exceedingly limited and outside help almost non-existent; and, finally, that no WPA or other governmental agency existed with which to succor the 5 per cent of our population in acute distress.

It is almost impossible to appreciate the magnitude of the refugee problem in Spain, as it is incredible that the outside world has scarcely raised a finger to alleviate the suffering. A few facts should be enlightening. Last January the province of Valencia was flooded with 160,000 refugees in addition to its normal 926,000 inhabitants; Ciudad Real had 112,000 refugees to 427,000 inhabitants—was supporting every fifth person as a war derelict; Catalonia had its population swollen by 350,000 persons; in Murcia one out of every seven persons was a refugee. The situation in Albaceta and Almeria was almost as serious, while the lowest total in thirteen other provinces was 32,000 refugees in Castellon above a normal population of 306,000. Since January these figures have increased by tens of thousands.

Such a brief summary may prompt the query, With the enemy at its gates what has the Valencia government been able to do for this horde of uprooted humanity? The facts have been assembled by two Paris lawyers, Marc and Marie-Louise Jacquier, in a report published by the International Bureau for the Right of Asylum and Aid to Political Refugees. Organization of refugee aid has developed in three steps. A Refugees' Committee was formed last October on a national scale. By a decree of January, 1937, the functions of this body were assumed by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Aid. Finally, in February, the provincial committees were replaced by the "Offices of Stages," which are administered through the Public Health Ministry. With this improvised organization the Loyalists' refugee-aid activities have fallen into four groupings: evacuation of endangered civilian populations, registration of refugees, transportation and distribution of refugees in different provinces, and provision of lodgings and sustenance.

To handle the refugee army extraordinary efforts have been required. An individual card system has been established whereby the homeless are catalogued and provided with identity cards for presentation at federal or municipal shelters or at private homes. Army barracks, convents, hotels, public halls, and abandoned villas have been converted into refuges. In Madrid two large refuges have been used for evacuation purposes, one housing 1,500 persons and the other as many as 4,000. In Barcelona the huge Montjuich stadium has been equipped with dormitories, shower baths, and an infirmary and can shelter 6,000 persons in emergencies. Valencia is now completing the Marguerita Nelken Refuge in addition to a children's shelter near the railroad station. Refugees are accommodated in two ways: they are settled in colonies or are billeted with private families. The latter method has imposed a tremendous burden upon Spanish homes, for several hundred thousand refugees have been taken in, fed, clothed, and "adopted for the duration of the war." A February decree provides that each family shall feed and house at least one refugee. Of course the average Spanish family exists upon a bare subsistence level; yet there has been no protesting or grumbling.

A large number of *guarderias,* or colonies for children, have been founded in the various provinces. Clothes, food, and medical care are especially necessary for the homeless youngsters. In this work municipalities contribute according to their means, in addition to federal and private aid. In and near Barcelona a number of model children's colonies have been established. Almost everywhere the members of the staff are volunteers and unpaid.

This rescue work for homeless children demonstrates clearly that the self-respecting Spaniards are caring for their own to the limit of their capacity. The Basque refugee children, therefore, constitute a special case. In Bilbao there is no alternative to consigning the children to charity abroad. Strangely enough it was not until the first of these had to be carried away to safety that the outside world began to realize that the Basque refugee problem is merely a small fraction of the great problem throughout Spain.

What has already been done for the Spanish refugees by their own government and their own private citizens has passed almost unnoticed amid the thunders of the war, but it is an inspiring and noble story. The brutal fact remains, however, that 1,250,000 older men and women, mothers, children, and infants are objects of charity in Spain and may go hungry tomorrow. They need aid from abroad, urgently and without stint. In 1914 the world's heart responded swiftly to the plight of the Belgian people. What cruel irony that Spain's human derelicts should awaken no such outpouring of generosity!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will the SEC Wreck Hearst?

BY JAMES SMITH

THE Hearst newspaper empire may be wrecked by the Securities Act of 1933. The act requires that companies selling securities disclose their true financial condition without concealment of relevant facts. The Hearst organization, overloaded with debt and possessing tangible assets whose balance-sheet totals are negligible, is trying to bail itself out by selling $35,500,000 of debentures to the public. In early March Hearst registered $13,000,000 for Hearst Magazines, Inc., which owns the *Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping,* and other periodicals. Three weeks later a registration statement was filed covering $22,500,000 for Hearst Publications, owner of many of the Hearst dailies. The Hearst issues, under the provisions of the Securities Act, had to remain on exhibition twenty days before they could be released for sale. Meanwhile, omissions and falsifications were sought by the SEC. Their public offering is still pending. Protests to the SEC followed quickly upon the registration of the issues. They deal with irregularities in Hearst's finances and with the effects on his business of his fascist news and editorial policies, his labor relations, and other matters.

An analysis of the registration statement of Hearst Magazines, Inc., was made and sent to the SEC by Paul Kern, Civil Service Commissioner of New York City, and Bernard Reis, author of the recently published "False Security." The brief declares that when a magazine company sells securities, the "investor has a right to assume that the moneys to be thus procured will be used for the acquisition of new profitable assets connected with its operations, working capital, or the liquidation of liabilities of the magazine business," and that "the conduct of the business previous to the issue was of such a nature as a reasonably prudent magazine publisher would have conducted." Since this is the natural assumption, established in law, says the brief, deviations should be clearly described. Otherwise "a magazine publisher could use the proceeds for the acquisition of a yacht."

The brief shows that practically all of the $13,000,000 is to be used for purposes foreign to the ostensible business of the company and that this fact becomes discernible only after close scrutiny; the conclusion is that the provisions of the registration statement "unquestionably verge on legally actionable fraud." Citing much legal precedent, the brief says:

> A statement is not legally accurate merely because a careful accountant or expert may find it so. It must be accurate to an investor of "ordinary prudence." This long and involved registration statement, with its cross refences, footnotes, and complexities, is not accurate to the ordinary prudent investor unless it succinctly summarizes the use of the funds to be obtained. . . .

The authors go on to point out that the statement, to be legally accurate, would have to "contain a prominent disclosure" of such facts as these: that part of the proceeds were to be used for the purchase of Hearst's British estate, St. Donat's Castle; that a building was being purchased from the New York *Evening Journal* at a price $500,000 higher than the appraised value in order to relieve the Hearst Magazines of a contract which, in essence, required that it pay the *Journal's* rent; and that over a three-year period the surplus of Hearst Magazines had been greatly depleted through the payment of dividends (to Hearst) in excess of earnings.

Dealing with the same facts, the Labor Research Association stated to the SEC that no business management actually responsible to its company would countenance such operations unless there existed a "contract, verbal understanding, or working agreement between management of Hearst Magazines, Inc., and the parent companies under which the earnings and capital of the registrant are diverted to the parent companies." Failure of the registration statement to mention such an agreement, it was charged, constituted a "material omission in violation of the Securities Act of 1933." Pointing out from facts contained in the registration statement that diversion of company moneys to parent companies and to the top parent, William Randolph Hearst, was not the exception but the rule and routine, and that debt claims against parents appeared likely to grow without limit, the Research Association concluded that "the value of the present securities can be judged only after the financial condition of the parents has been disclosed." Since Hearst is the final borrower, this would include him.

Whether through the intervention of the SEC or otherwise, the existence of the equivalent of such a working agreement was disclosed when the second issue, the $22,500,000 Hearst Publications debentures, was filed. An obscure footnote said:

> The company, its divisions, and its subsidiary have . . . been under a common ownership and executive management with other Hearst companies, and all have been operated from a practical standpoint as though they were branches or divisions of a single business, to an extent that intercompany advances and exchanges of working-capital funds have been a common practice; joint facilities, commodity, features, news, and other services have been conducted in some instances without contracts and on non-uniform bases of charges therefor, and lessor and lessee relationships have not . . . at all times measured occupancy benefits.

Such an admission obviously makes even more essential the disclosure of the whole set-up as demanded by the Labor Research Association. Otherwise an organization might segregate its best assets in a single corporation,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which alone would issue securities and whose condition alone would be disclosed, even though the proceeds were diverted to other units about which the public would be told nothing. This hypothesis fits the Hearst case.

Protests were not limited to the financial condition of the Hearst organization. The American League against War and Fascism in a carefully documented thirty-five-page brief told the commission of the existence of the boycott against Hearst. "Since such a boycott obviously limits the possible expansion of the registrant," reads the brief, "the American League against War and Fascism respectfully requests that the Securities and Exchange Commission require that the registration statement and the prospectus state that such a boycott exists." It also asked that the release of the securities for public sale be delayed until organizations boycotting Hearst had been given the opportunity so to testify in public hearings, as permitted under the act.

The claims made by the Good Housekeeping Institute were denied by the Consumers Union. The institute tests household articles and upon some places its "Certificate of Approval." Articles not receiving such approval are forbidden the advertising pages of the magazine. The Consumers Union listed scores of articles which had been subjected to cease-and-desist orders of the Federal Trade Commission or placed on the black list of New York City without loss of the privilege of advertising in *Good Housekeeping*.

As a labor union, the American Newspaper Guild avoids such issues as Hearst's financial irregularities, his fascist policies, and his false advertising claims. However, after Hearst Publications had admitted that there was but a single Hearst organization, in which separate companies were mere "branches," the *Guild Reporter* pointed out that this laid Hearst open to the demand for a single union contract covering all the newspapers. To date such demands had been countered by the assertion that wage scales of one paper had no bearing upon those of others. Since assets and working capital are admittedly shifted about at convenience, this claim is no longer tenable.

Without consulting the Guild, one of the central trade councils in New Jersey called the attention of the SEC to the heavy strike losses sustained by Hearst in Seattle and Milwaukee. Pointing out that other papers lacked Guild contracts, it contended that the registration statement must note this fact and call to the investors' attention the possibility of similar strike losses in the future.

The effect of these and other protests, if successful, may bankrupt the Hearst companies. The organization needs its $35,500,000 quickly. However, bankruptcy may be avoided. Hearst himself has been credited with possession of a large personal fortune. Failing to sell securities to the public, he may at least return to the companies the large sums extracted by such methods as appropriation of surpluses in the form of dividends and sales of real estate to the newspapers. Another possibility, although equally remote, is that Hearst will make full disclosure and that the public will still buy his securities.

Meanwhile the attack upon Hearst holds significant lessons for labor unions and organizations dealing with anti-social corporations. Both for new and already listed securities they are within their rights in demanding that companies disclose tear-gas costs and payments to spies and strike-breakers. They might insist upon disclosures to the investor of consumer boycotts. Demands for union recognition and the strike losses that might result from refusal should certainly be shown, and specific information about suits by the National Labor Relations Board should be required.

Social Credit: Troubles in Alberta

BY DONALD LESLIE

PREMIER Aberhart of Alberta, head of the first Social Credit government in the world, is the central figure in a controversy that grows in bitterness as the months pass. Alberta has had for eighteen months a government pledged to a program of Social Credit, but that economic theory has not yet been translated into fact. Mr. Aberhart's supporters regard him as a sincere, honest, and capable leader struggling to bring about a new economic order which shall provide "Social Credit dividends" every month. They see him thwarted in his efforts by the greed and obstinacy of the "possessing" classes, with orthodox finance as the chief obstructionist. The opponents of Social Credit call the Premier a humbug, a demagogue, a seeker after power.

It has been a troubled eighteen months. All sorts of things have been tried—"prosperity dollars," for instance, which were issued last year with the assurance that if only the people of Alberta would accept these quite illegal substitutes for currency (of course the illegality was not mentioned), every unemployed man in the country would be put to work on road construction and the necessity for relief payments would be eliminated. The scheme collapsed and has been officially abandoned. Last year also a number of complicated codes were set up to govern a variety of businesses and trades. Somewhat after the fashion of the NRA, these codes aimed to bring about a needed reform in the conduct of business. Examinations were held, licenses were issued, and fees collected therefor, but the codes were abandoned when the first court challenge revealed that it would be impossible to enforce them. The fees have not yet been refunded. The basic theory of Social Credit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stresses the necessity of supplying purchasing power to the entire population to balance and absorb production. Increased taxes of course decrease purchasing power. The government, however, has been forced by the pressure of immediate necessity to collect more revenue. Nor has this come from the well-to-do only; the 2 per cent sales tax, for example, affects everybody.

William Aberhart, in the days when he was still a high-school principal, was appalled by the condition of financial servitude to which great numbers of Albertans had been reduced. Low prices, glutted markets, mortgages given in boom times, unpaid and compounding interest, vanishing savings, failing hope—a story too well known, sadly enough, to require much telling—aroused his pity and strengthened his determination to find a solution. He believed that Social Credit offered a way out. When as Governor he could not give immediate effect to Social Credit, he passed two measures to deal with the financial burden. One reduced to a maximum of 3 per cent the rate of interest which the province would pay on its bonded indebtedness. The other provided that all debts, and this especially affected mortgages, which had been incurred prior to July, 1932, should be subject to a new set of conditions, regardless of the original contract. The principal as of July, 1932, was to be reduced in the amount of all the payments, including interest, which had been made since that time. The balance was to be divided into ten equal amounts, to be paid in ten annual instalments, without interest, beginning with 1937. It meant the abolition of all interest on incurred debts from 1932 until 1946, and it extended the time of payment.

These two acts raised a fury of opposition in financial circles, while among persons saddled with an overwhelming burden of debt they kindled hope once more. Both acts were challenged in the courts, and owing to the division of jurisdiction between federal and provincial governments, both were disallowed. The verdict is to be appealed. Meanwhile a temporary moratorium is in effect to prevent foreclosure or recovery actions until the government can devise another method of dealing with the debt question.

During the recently adjourned session of the legislature the government proposed a licensing measure which would confer upon it very wide powers. A transport board was to be set up to issue licenses for trucking and to regulate trucking rates. Licenses were also to be required of business men, office, mine, and factory workers—everybody, in fact, except farmers and casual laborers. Fees were to be collected and penalties to be inflicted upon anyone daring to earn his or her living without government permission. It is difficult to see what these proposed measures, savoring strongly of fascist control, have to do with Social Credit, and protests arose as soon as their details were made public. Resolutions were passed describing them as "unwarrantable invasions of personal liberty which place every individual completely in the control of the state and stultify his freedom of conscience." It would be ironic if the people of Alberta, after electing a Social Credit government in their search for economic freedom, should lose their freedom of employment.

After holding office for eighteen months without being able to put Social Credit into operation, Mr. Aberhart in March addressed to his usual Sunday radio audience an explanation and a challenge. He blamed the organized powers of finance and the press for the delay. He reaffirmed his belief in the possibility of setting up Social Credit if the people would continue to back him. The response was surprising. An insurgent movement, led by Dr. H. K. Brown, within the ranks of the Social Credit members of the legislature obtained sufficient numerical support to impose its demands upon the government. Protesting that Mr. Aberhart had no intention of bringing in a measure to give effect to Social Credit, the insurgents blocked the budget proposed by the government for the ensuing fiscal year until something should be done. This budget was of the most orthodox type, providing for the paring down of expenditures and the collection of a still higher revenue and contemplating an inevitable, though reduced, deficit.

After much wrangling and uncertainty a temporary compromise was effected. One-quarter of the budget was voted, sufficient to last the government for three months; a Social Credit Act was passed; a commission of house members was empowered to search for three "experts in Social Credit" to administer the act. The licensing bills were held in abeyance; the government's measure for dealing with debt was held up; the moratorium was prolonged; an invitation was extended to Major Douglas, the originator of Social Credit, to come to Alberta in person and put his theory into operation; and the legislature adjourned until June 7.

Meanwhile the issues between the Social Credit adherents of Premier Aberhart and the Social Credit insurgents are being argued in the constituencies with much passion and confusion. The opposing political parties—Conservatives, Liberals, United Farmers, and Labor—are considerably cheered by this split in government ranks. An effort is being made by the People's League to consolidate into one unified force those elements in the electorate which oppose the party now in power.

It is difficult to foresee what will happen. One may perhaps guess. The People's League will need something much more constructive than mere dislike of Social Credit and a promise of return to orthodox finance to gain support at the polls in the event of an election. The insurgents probably will not press their opposition to Mr. Aberhart if by withholding support for the budget they can force him to give effect to the Social Credit Act. Mr. Aberhart is less sure of support in the constituencies than he was in 1935 when the forces of Social Credit were undivided; resort to an election would therefore be a gamble he may not care to risk. Unless defeated by a majority in the legislature, the government still has three years to hold office.

The majority of the people in Alberta, who voted Social Credit into power in 1935, want to find out once and for all whether this hitherto untried theory will work or not. Apparently they are soon to know.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Mr. Hearst Asks for Help

ONCE more William Randolph Hearst has turned to the public for aid to carry on his publications. In 1928 and 1929 he induced the public to buy nearly forty million dollars' worth of securities which he personally guaranteed. Later, after the depression had begun, he sold fifty million more to the public and his employees and did not have to guarantee their repayment. Some of these bonds are coming due; Hearst's companies have not the money to redeem them; and so he is asking investors for $35,500,000 more—$13,000,000 for Hearst Magazines, Inc., and $22,500,000 for Hearst Publications, Inc. If the public swallows the bait again, there will be $125,000,000 of other money than Hearst's in that monstrous edifice of interrelated corporations which he controls, almost as involved a bit of financing and ownership of ownership as the corporation pyramids erected by Samuel Insull. Except for one thing it is probable that Hearst would be helped out again. That obstacle is the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington, created to safeguard the investing public from blue-sky financing.

If the SEC should authorize this additional Hearst financing, it might as well go out of business. I do not see how it possibly can sanction it, for a more unblushing proposal has surely never come before the commission. The whole financial set-up is so complicated that the proposed issue should be rejected on that ground alone. The application is ninety-three pages long; no individual investor could possibly understand the involved language and financing unless he were a banker or an investment expert. Let us take one example: of the $13,000,000 to be obtained for Hearst Magazines, Inc., $1,900,000 is to be used for the repayment of bank loans which had to be guaranteed, before Hearst could obtain them, first, of course, by Hearst Magazines itself; secondly by its parent company, the Hearst Corporation, Inc.; thirdly by the latter's parent company, American Newspapers, Inc.; and finally by Hearst himself. Originally, as Charles E. Hughes brought out years ago when campaigning for Governor of New York, these companies within companies were created in order to protect Hearst from legal liability for his reckless and slanderous statements. Now they are doubtless closely related to income-tax questions and to the difficult financing of this huge, unwieldly, and in some cases unprofitable group of magazines and dailies.

When we come to examine in detail what some of the money intended for Hearst Magazines is to be used for, the unblushing effrontery of the whole proposal becomes clear. Thus $1,461,471.19 is to go for the purchase of stock of an English company, the National Magazine Company, Ltd., which is controlled by Hearst in the usual involved, wheels-within-wheels manner. The stock is to be sold by Hearst's American Newspapers, Inc., already cited. Now what are the assets to be purchased from the latter? They are beyond belief: (1) net tangible assets of the National Magazine Company, Ltd., of $189,676.75; (2) the good-will of this company, which has lost more than $45,000 a year for the last three years; (3) the excess of the cost over the par value of the National Magazine Company's investment in the *Connoisseur*, a magazine which has lost $15,000 a year during the past three years; (4) the good-will of this same *Connoisseur* and of the Good Housekeeping Restaurants, whose losses for the last three years total $9,500 not counting depreciation; and (5) most astounding of all, St. Donat's Castle and estates and Bradenstoke Abbey and land, all located in Wales, of a book value of $1,323,351.24. A castle and an abbey, the good-will in some unprofitable restaurants and magazines, and the net tangible assets of National Magazines, Inc., all jumbled up together to be unloaded on investors for the sum of $1,461,671.19! Have I adequately characterized this transaction? I think not.

Let us go a step farther. St. Donat's Castle was bought for or by Hearst in 1925 for £24,694 (approximately $120,000). It was subsequently "rehabilitated" by Hearst and so ruined that there were indignant public protests at the desecration of this historic castle. It was turned over to the National Magazine Company, and the Hearst statement before the SEC declares that "use of it is made from time to time to promote good-will for the publications of the National Magazine Company, Ltd." Moreover, the indenture securing this bond issue specifies that neither the registrant nor any subsidiary "will expend any money for restoration or alteration of this property, *though reasonable amounts may be expended for necessary maintenance and repairs*" (italics mine)!

This breaks all flotation records. The public is asked to give money to purchase a castle in which Hearst and his family may, as in the past, live and entertain in order to influence persons to give advertising and other aid to the limping magazines of this company! Publicly endowed toadying and bootlicking! Hearst was never known to be other than lavish in his entertaining. Would not *he* decide what were "necessary maintenance and repairs"? And it is seriously contended that the burden of running this property should be lifted from Hearst and placed upon a company which has only $189,676.85 of actual tangible assets.

I can only say that if this proposed public financing goes through, we ought to make public apologies to the brothers Insull and give them the thanks of Congress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Drang Nach Osten

HITLER'S DRIVE TO THE EAST. By F. Elwyn Jones. E. P. Dutton and Company. $1.

DR. SCHACHT'S cagey economic penetration having provided an opening, the Austro-German agreement of last July was utilized by Hitler as a step toward the re-creation of a Mittel Europa; Vienna was to be the spearhead of the drive which would bring the Balkans into the Nazi corral. Beginning in 1933 the Germans imported extensively from the economically dependent Balkans. Large Balkan credits were soon built up and "frozen" in the Reichsbank, and the Balkan nations were then informed that they could only liquidate their frozen assets by buying German industrial products. Otherwise the credits would remain "frozen," or—as a final argument—the blocked Reichsmark would be devaluated. It was a neat financial trick, and it worked so well that last June Dr. Schacht pulled his trump card: "Use your blocked Reichsmarks to buy German arms."

The countries capitulated in turn. In Yugoslavia Dr. Schacht's plan was assisted by the damage which sanctions against Italy had done to Yugoslavia's considerable export trade. Germany "undertook to import 60 per cent of the Yugoslavian goods normally taken by Italy, and within a few months Yugoslavia had 21,000,000 Rm. credit blocked in Berlin." And although the Comité des Forges and Skoda had already armed Yugoslavia up to the hilt, Dr. Schacht eventually managed to get at least $9,000,000 worth of semi-military orders from Belgrade. Two-thirds of the "frozen" Greek credits have been spent on German arms, although the Italian and British tenders were both lower. Bulgaria was easy prey. With 64 per cent of her export trade and 53.5 per cent of her import trade in Nazi hands, most of her "frozen" credits went for German arms.

Mr. Jones proceeds to a brief and arresting survey of the new Balkan dictatorships. The mailed fist of General Metaxas has made the government of Greece about the most stringent dictatorship in Europe. Police power is arbitrary. Metaxas has frankly told the press that "liberty is a fiction." The labor movement has been suppressed—or rather "nationalized"—and the electoral system abolished. Local mayors, for example, are now "selected" by the central government. In Rumania, since the overthrow of the M. Titulescu, the liberal and Francophile Foreign Minister, the Nazis have found the going rather easy. Army officers have succumbed to Nazi influence, and the peasants and students are increasingly anti-Semitic. Corneliu Codreanu's fascist and anti-Semitic "Iron Guard," composed of fanatics and terrorists, was openly supported by certain high officials and financed, in part, from Berlin. A military league has ruled Bulgaria since 1934. It was supported by Professor Tsankov's "social" movement, which was in turn backed by Nazis. Last July two Tsankov ministers were included in the Bulgarian Cabinet. For many years Yugoslavia has been held together by a strong, military central government. But while Nazi economic penetration has been considerable, Yugoslavia's position is undecided. The court is reactionary and the Foreign Minister pro-German, but the fascist bloc in Europe is frankly revisionist, and Yugoslavia is desperately anti-revisionist.

Such is Mr. Jones's brief sketch of the latest Nazi edifice. It is imposing but full of cracks. Yugoslavia has lately turned back toward Italy, France, and England at the expense of Germany. In Greece unrest is increasing. Sure neither of the army nor the navy, General Metaxas relies increasingly on his augmented police force. But Greeks and police are notoriously fickle and, like the "Republican Guards" of 1926, may turn against their creator. A Popular Front is being secretly established, and three-fourths of the university students are said to be anti-fascist. In Rumania the nationalism of King Carol and his more liberal ministers has been aroused by Nazi effrontery, and the new decrees against the Iron Guard and other fascist organizations mark a more liberal trend. Moreover, the important French and British economic interests will not be passively pushed aside by further German penetration. As for Bulgaria, it "has no desire to be dominated entirely by Nazi Germany. In October, 1936, the Bulgarian government made this clear by the dismissal of its two Tsankovist Ministers."

But the strongest forces against further Nazi infiltration are just beginning to function. The Balkan Entente, with the partly interlocking Little Entente and the new Yugoslav-Bulgarian pact of friendship, may conceivably form a stout weapon of common resistance to any foreign meddling. Furthermore, the cooperation between Italy and Germany is "in secondary interests," and underlying it is their "veiled opposition in primary interests." The current revival of international trade, moreover, has strengthened the internal position of all the Balkan and Central European governments and placed them in a more favorable bargaining position with regard to Dr. Schacht. Finally, with the British rearmament program nearing completion, the British are playing a more forceful role in Continental politics.

Mr. Jones concludes with a plea that England lead Europe "in the direction of collective security within the framework of the League." Many Englishmen may object to this, and Mr. Jones's epilogue—one hastens to admit—is a bit emotional. But the body of his book is meaty, realistic, and highly informative. There are few books on the subject, and Mr. Jones is one of the few writers in contact with the leading anti-fascists and radicals working underground in Central Europe and the Balkans.

JULIAN S. BACH, JR.

Tomb for the Twenties

AFTER THE GENTEEL TRADITION. AMERICAN WRITERS SINCE 1910. Edited by Malcolm Cowley. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.75.

MR. COWLEY and eleven other critics review in this volume the literature of America between what they call the genteel tradition and now; between, that is, the birth and the death of a literary movement which, struggling to exist in the second decade of the present century, had already passed its prime by 1930. It will be remembered that the latter year was the occasion for many obituaries of the ten which had preceded it. Mr. Cowley's volume is merely the last of those obituaries, and doubtless the best. Its twelve critics, all of them able, bury a great many books with well-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

directed blows of a single spade. For they have a single point of view—the only one which to any of them seems possible—and if it occurs to none of them that this also may pass, there is after all nothing remarkable about the fact, which has been familiar for centuries. One can even suspect that most of them would acknowledge the transitoriness of their truth with a melancholy pleasure. They are committed to history, and love to date the deaths of things, including perhaps their own. One can imagine them designing a tomb for their point of view, and saving the design as a critical guide for such young spirits as shall come after and be as little satisfied with the thirties as they themselves are with the twenties. The literature of a decade is for them something to be swallowed and digested as a whole; food for its time and for no other; a gesture that has served.

What they have to say about the literature of the twenties is pointed by Mr. Cowley in his opening and closing remarks, but it is said clearly enough in every chapter. The era of Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Willa Cather, Van Wyck Brooks, Carl Sandburg, Sherwood Anderson, H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill, James Branch Cabell, Robinson Jeffers, Edna Millay, and Ernest Hemingway was liberating—and therein valuable—but it did not go far enough. These authors liberated themselves from the genteel tradition, but once alone with themselves they were confused as to what should happen next. For they were still lacking in the one thing which for our twelve critics is essential: they had no relation to society, or rather they had been born too soon to have the right one. They were middle-class people who had rejected their class without finding another one. So they went off into their various hiding places: Willa Cather and O'Neill into religion, Brooks into the problem of the individual writer and finally into descriptive literary history, Mencken into billingsgate, Lewis into panic and revulsion, Cabell into sheer trifles, Jeffers into his hawk-haunted tower, Hemingway into the bled veins of dumb animals, and so on. A chapter on John Dos Passos by Mr. Cowley and another one on Thomas Wolfe by Hamilton Basso are thrown in at the end to show that there is hope for the future, since both of these writers, it appears, possess the happy secret of keeping "open and unclogged the channels that ought to flow between the lives at the base of society and the literary consciousness." The words are Newton Arvin's and the context is Carl Sandburg, but they will do.

The thesis explains much, and explains it brilliantly; Lionel Trilling, Robert Cantwell, Louis Kronenberger, Peter Monro Jack, and John Peale Bishop have published essays here which should be standard for years. Yet their very unanimity will inspire a perverse reader to look for alternative theses. What is being explained, of course, is the decline of several reputations. The tendency of most reputations to decline is, I suppose, not much of a thesis, since it can be stated in half a dozen words and associates itself in the mind with such commonplace facts as change and fashion and natural death. At any rate it suggests itself as something that might have prevented a good deal of the intellectual strain present in some of these essays; though at the same time it would have prevented some excellent prose. And about this business of the hiding place—either for an author who has lost his original power or for one (it may be merely this) who in his maturity has grown tired of being significant, representative, organic to his times, and what not, and like many another graying man insists on devoting his last days to himself. It has happened before. Shakespeare's final plays are a riot of magic and make-believe; Milton hid his head in autobiography; Tolstoy took to writing tracts. Such behavior may be reprehensible, but I do not know that it is more so than age and death, or that friend and enemy whom we call change. And it actually has produced good works: "The Tempest," "Samson Agonistes," "How Much Land Does a Man Need?" Or so it can seem with the passage of time and the conquering of our disappointment that the authors of these masterpieces did not continue their close contacts with every current thought.

It is not so much, then, or is it at all that our dozen historians are wrong. They are often in fact very shrewdly right. It is rather that they cannot possibly be as wise as they sound, wisdom in literary history being so extremely rare and having to wait so long upon its proofs. As for their criticism, the pressure behind it upon all authors to find at once the correct social attitude or die is a little terrifying. There are, nevertheless, two grains of comfort in the volume for anyone who is not yet ready to jump. Mr. Cowley announces the permanent death of William Dean Howells in apparent ignorance of the fact that Howells foresaw no literature for the twentieth century except under socialism, and said so. And Hamilton Basso calls upon Thomas Wolfe to "submit to the rigid discipline of his craft" if he cares to survive. That is the only reference in the whole volume to the superstition that writing is among other things an art. But it is a reference.

MARK VAN DOREN

Fable and Prophecy

TRUMPET OF JUBILEE. By Ludwig Lewisohn. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

IN A symbolic prologue Mr. Lewisohn dramatizes the struggle of man in the Western world today. He presents a Christian whom he calls Peter, a Jew named Jehuda, and an infidel, a Saracen of course. The infidel—who is also Mr. Lewisohn's particular devil—is a revolutionary, although he may also be a fascist. To Mr. Lewisohn there is no difference. The struggle between these adversaries is not a three-cornered one, however, for Peter and Jehuda fight side by side to uphold man's spiritual nature, his love as an individualist for liberty, his desire to create as well as pray, against the totalitarian state with its deadly monotony, its lack of imagination, its cupidity, its cruelty. But before Peter and Jehuda join hands they must discover what they are: Peter must know himself for a Christian, Jehuda must acknowledge himself a Jew. If the infidel defeats them, as he has in the past and may again in the future, they will at least know what they are dying for.

To illustrate his fable Mr. Lewisohn takes his reader to Germany in 1933. The anti-Semitic terror is rising. Kurt Weiss, the lawyer, has an Aryan partner and many Christian friends; he has hardly ever thought of himself as a Jew, nor has his wife, who is perhaps three-quarters Gentile. They are Germans, cultivated, intellectual, honorable, law-abiding. But Kurt Weiss, before he is shot in the head, knows the extremes of Nazi brutality; his wife and child are permitted to flee, first to Paris, then to America. They discover that the Jews they meet in those countries are desperately eager to deny their Jewishness. And their lives are hollow, unsatisfying, unhappy. These American Jews want to forget the Nazi terror, they want to pretend that all is well with them, that they are no different from their neighbors, that they are Americans—just as the German Jews wanted to believe that they were Germans. But the infidel is just around the corner, and in a prophetic look ahead that takes the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reader some ten years into the future, Mr. Lewisohn describes the coming struggle and indicates for believers their salvation.

Mr. Lewisohn is well known as a novelist of power and imagination. Now and then he indulges in too many adjectives, but his style is for the most part pure and penetrating. There can be no quarrel with his description of Germany today. We know it as he knows it. Its brutality and stupidity would be incredible except that they are true. But long steps into the future are always dangerous. To many persons Mr. Wells's Utopias are boring when they are not silly. Mr. Lewisohn, writing history in 1948—and in his epilogue much farther in the future than that—runs the risk of losing those readers who have not had his particular brand of revelation. The only world we know is the one we live in; we interpret the past in terms of the present; the future is mercifully dark. Man may eventually experience the breakdown of civilization; but if the Dark Ages come again, they must come in their own way and in their own time. Mr. Lewisohn would of course admit this. But he would add that man should be prepared, by knowing his God again, to meet them with courage, wisdom, and a high heart. It may be so. Meanwhile, as a member of that race which has produced both jesters and rabbis said: "If I don't feel it, I don't feel it." Revelation comes or it is denied. More perplexing still, the revealed truth of today may be the apocrypha of tomorrow. And finally, if one more distorted proverb is not too many, you may lead a man to the bread of life but you cannot make him eat.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

Claude Kitchin Vindicated

CLAUDE KITCHIN AND THE WILSON WAR POLICIES. By Alex Mathews Arnett. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

PROFESSOR ARNETT has excellently portrayed Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, one of the bravest and most sterling figures of the days leading up to America's entry into the World War. Indeed, Professor Arnett does not exaggerate when he terms him "one of the ablest statesmen of his time and one of the most honorable and courageous of all time." No man in our whole history was more severely tried as by fire. He went down to defeat and premature death with serenity and courage despite the bitter injustice of the attacks upon him. Because he, unlike hundreds of others in the House of Representatives, remained true to his beliefs and refused to yield to the arrogant demands of President Wilson and the warmakers, he was lynched by almost all the newspapers of the United States with a barbarity, a mendacity, a deliberate falsification unsurpassed in the records of our press. No incident of the last quarter-century of our journalism would make an honest editor or writer hang his head lower unless it were Hearst's contribution to putting us into the war with Spain.

Not only did the newspapers indulge in incredible vilification of Mr. Kitchin—the New York *Herald* (deservedly deceased thereafter) printed an "interview" with him every word of which was invented, and editors all over the country based editorials on it, while the *Herald* refused to print one word of retraction or correction—but they made a determined effort to lie and howl down every man in public life who dared to be true to his conscience if it told him to oppose our entry into the war. If it were in my power I should make this book required reading in every school of journalism in the

Which Camera Should You Buy ?

Can you get as good pictures with a $10 camera as you can with a $50 one?

Should you buy a miniature camera or a large one?

Which is better—the Contax or the Leica?

The first of two reports on cameras, appearing in the current issue of *Consumers Union Reports* will help you to answer such questions as these. Non-miniature cameras, including both American and foreign makes, are covered in this report. The second report, which will appear next month, will cover miniature cameras.

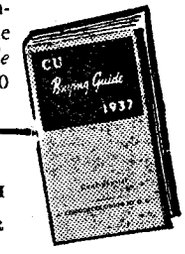
As in reports on other products, comparisons of the quality and value of outstanding makes (including Kodak, Agfa, Leica, Contax, Graflex, and other cameras) will be given and the Best Buys of each type and in each price range indicated by name. Read these reports before deciding which camera to buy. They will give you the guidance of experts in the selection of a camera. They can save you money and help you get better pictures.

House Dresses • Radio Tubes • Flashlights • Sanitary Napkins

Other reports in this issue give you the results of tests made on competing brands of house dresses, radio tubes, flashlights, sanitary napkins, shoe whiteners, and canned peaches and canned tomatoes—with ratings, *in terms of brand names*, as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable." **Coming in Next Month's Issue—Ratings of the 1937 refrigerators.**

A $3 Investment Which Can Save You $50 to $300

Membership in Consumers Union, which brings you twelve issues of *Consumers Union Reports* and a 240-page *Buying Guide*, costs but $3 a year ($1 for the abridged edition covering only the less expensive types of products). Information from many of Consumers Union's 40,000 members indicates that the regular use of these *Reports* and the *Buying Guide* can save the average family sums ranging from $50 a year to $300 and over.



WITH YOUR MEMBERSHIP A 240-PAGE **BUYING GUIDE** containing ratings of over a thousand products, by brand name, as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable." Get this Buying Guide by mailing coupon NOW!

Membership can be started with any of the following issues: SEPT.—Shoes, Tires, Whiskies; OCT.—Dentifrices, Gins, Electric Razors; NOV.—Radios, Wines, Children's Shoes; DEC.—Vacuum Cleaners, Fountain Pens, Blankets; JAN.-FEB.—Men's Suits, Cold Remedies, Shaving Creams; MAR.—Autos, Face Powders, Flour; APR.—Shirts, Cold Creams, Gardening; MAY—Trailers, Washing Machines, and the first of a series of articles on the causes and treatment of constipation. **Mail the Coupon Today!**

To CONSUMERS UNION OF UNITED STATES, Inc.
55 Vandam Street, New York, N. Y.

I hereby apply for membership in Consumers Union. I enclose:

☐ $3 for one year's membership, $2.50 of which is for a year's subscription to the complete edition of *Consumers Union Reports.*

☐ $1 for one year's membership, 50c of which is for a year's subscription to the limited edition of *Consumers Union Reports.* (NOTE: Reports on higher-priced products are not in this edition.)

I agree to keep confidential all material sent to me which is so designated.

Signature .....

Address .....

City and State..... .....Occupation.....N-6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States and in every college class in American history. No book we have had since Walter Millis's "Road to War" has brought out more clearly how a country may be misled into a war with which it has no concern. Moreover, it is a valuable addition to the historical record of the United States in the World War. If Mr. Kitchin's family had placed on his tombstone the line "Killed by the American press for being true to America," it would but have told the truth. Of course, if he had not been hounded into his grave at fifty-four ("He was as much a casualty of the war," wrote his home-town daily, "as any soldier killed on the battlefields of France"), he would have lived to see the most complete justification of the stand he took and would today be one of the most highly respected and beloved of American political leaders. He would have had the satisfaction of reading that 70 per cent of a poll taken by the Institute of Public Opinion upheld in 1937 his view in 1917 that our entering the World War was a dreadful, an utter mistake. More than that, he, like Bryan, would have seen the measures he urged in 1915-17 in a storm of calumny, written on the statute books in our new neutrality law—forbidding Americans to travel on belligerent ships save at their own risk, laying an embargo on munitions, and the like.

Professor Arnett has set all this forth not brilliantly or as dramatically as might have been done, but earnestly, painstakingly and with every desire to be just to all sides. He has also brought out admirably the other phases of Claude Kitchin's public activities—his genuine financial statesmanship, his mastery of taxation, his devotion to the cause of low tariffs, his efforts to prevent profiteering,—all the things which won him the respect and admiration of all who came into close contact with him. Professor Arnett is much more kindly to Woodrow Wilson than this reviewer could have been. I have found only one serious error and that is his statement that the Lusitania "was carrying great quantities of highly explosive munitions in her hold." This is altogether wrong. Dudley Field Malone's report as Collector of Customs shows that she carried only small-arms ammunition which might or might not have been set off by the explosion of the torpedo. Two matters of great historical value have been brought into the light by Professor Arnett, the first a letter from John Bassett Moore reviewing, after nearly twenty years, the armed-ship controversy. At the time he "could not help wondering whether there was any limit to our credulity and subserviency to England." Now he still feels that "by the position actually taken, the United States was committed, while professing to be a neutral, to maintain a belligerent position."

The other matter on which Professor Arnett sheds important light is the famous "sunrise conference" at the White House between Wilson and Congressmen Champ Clark, Harry Flood, and Kitchin in April, 1916, at which the President announced his determination to go to war against Germany at once. The time of the conference has always been in dispute as well as what happened. But to the testimony of the late Gilson Gardner and others Professor Arnett has now added a letter of Kitchin's to C. H. Claudy of Washington which leaves us no doubt that the conference took place in April, 1916, and that the President "seemed anxious to go to war with Germany immediately." Mr. Wilson cooled off when told that all three men—the Democratic leaders of the House—would fight any such proposal on the floor of the House, and pretended neufrality for another year, when the hue and cry made it possible for him to dragoon what was at heart an unwilling Congress into voting for the war.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Our Nietzsche

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NIETZSCHE. THUS SPAKE ZARATHUSTRA, BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL, THE GENEALOGY OF MORALS, ECCE HOMO, THE BIRTH OF TRAGEDY. The Modern Library. $1.10.

HUNTINGTON WRIGHT tells us in his introduction to this Modern Library "giant" of Nietzsche that no other philosopher since Kant has left "so undeniable an imprint on modern thought." But there are several considerations which militate against the acceptance of this statement. One is that it is hard to think of any truly original discovery of Nietzsche's which has had deep-reaching influence. A second refers to the enormous amount of nonsense one has to wade through before one can come upon any valid insights. A third reason why we must disagree with Mr. Wright lies in Nietzsche's utterly false conception of the role thought plays in directing the course of history. Having his roots in the subsoil of German idealism, he believed that poets were the creators of value. Later he assigned this role to the philosophers, and to himself in particular. But Nietzsche neglected to tell us by what practical means his great transvaluation was to be brought about. Today we know that neither poet nor philosopher creates values. What they respectively do is to express and clarify them. In one sense both activities involve creation. But unless the values so expressed or clarified refer to existing communal, not private, needs, they remain inert.

This does not mean that Nietzsche is an unimportant figure in modern thought. He was a very subtle "literary psychologist." And he still remains a prerequisite for full moral maturity. For if he does nothing else, he washes one clean of soggy, pietistic reverence. But Nietzsche fulfils more important functions. There was in him, wrapped up in a great deal of sheer sadism, a very powerful and sincere drive toward excellence. He craved tension, and self-fulfilment through difficult effort. He hated the laziness and the philistine good-fellowship which, hiding frequently behind the pretense of liberal democracy, permits vulgar and mediocre men, by pandering to the worst demands of the crowd, to gain positions of influence. Is this irrelevant to our contemporary world? Not at all, for at least a part of the appeal of Hitler and Mussolini is that they offer what their followers, not knowing anything better, take to be an opportunity for heroic self-fulfilment, the need for which our liberal democratic leaders do not seem even to suspect.

These points, and others for which there is no space, need emphasizing today, particularly since Nietzsche has been adopted by the Nazi barbarians. It is one of the ironies of our world that men for whom Nietzsche would have felt a profound disgust should claim him for their own. Nietzsche might have fallen for their sword rattling and at times even for the wholesale murder to which they are addicted. He was probably deprived of tin soldiers as a child, and in spite of his own unhappy military experience as a young man, retained throughout his life an essentially immature conception of the value of war. But he would not have had any use for the totalitarian state. The type of discipline, the order of rank of which he dreamed in his best moments were for free men, not slaves. Further, though he was himself to no small degree an actor, Nietzsche had a deep revulsion for political histrionics, and Hitler's and Mussolini's operatic posing and vulgar logorrhea would have turned his stomach. Lastly, we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all know what a deep contempt he often expressed for the anti-Semites. He was a good European. And he would not have tolerated the parochialism of the barbarians. But be that as it may, there is much in him which we can use and they can never claim for themselves. ELISEO VIVAS

Saving Democracy

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY. Edited by Max Ascoli and Fritz Lehmann. With a Foreword by Alvin Johnson. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

THIS volume, in which many of the fundamental issues confronting contemporary democracy are reconsidered, grew out of discussions held by the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research in 1935-36. While each member has made his individual contribution to the book, the editors wish to have the whole work looked upon as a "collective effort to understand the problems of democracy by a group of men who have experienced at personal cost what the eclipse of democracy means." It is a unique document in that it merges the special scholarship of men and women in different fields in a united endeavor to evaluate anew the potential future of democracy.

The first half of the volume is concerned with the economic difficulties which modern industrialism has created. Such subjects as economic planning (Gerhart Colm), trade unionism (Alfred Kähler), labor arbitration (Frieda Wunderlich), and cooperative associations (Karl Brandt and Horace M. Kallen) receive special attention. It is the firm conviction of the authors that democracy is compatible with and capable of dealing with the tasks which contemporary economic life presents. But in order to do so democracy has to be developed and expanded. In these days when the "crisis of democracy" is on everyone's lips, it is refreshing to see stress laid upon the fact that we should be concerned with building democracy rather than merely with maintaining it. Too many people at the present time are altogether too ready to look upon democracy as an achieved ideal which requires no more than preservation.

It is clear that this group of thinkers is not willing to admit that the conflicts of economic interest in contemporary society are so deep that nothing short of a regime of violence, a dictatorship in behalf and in the name of somebody or something, will do. They attempt to show, each in his own sphere, that important changes might be effected within the governmental pattern of a democratic society which would go a long way toward dissolving the present conflicts. There are, of course, significant differences of opinion. Some of the writers are more inclined to place confidence in general efforts, others in specific regulatory devices. In the field of economic planning Colm argues that comprehensive planning is incompatible with the maintenance of democratic life, because of the impossibility of persuading the property-owners to accept expropriation "lying down." But more limited and specific efforts, amounting to what Colm calls planned intervention, are conceivable. "Planned intervention, if it is to work with, not against, modern technical conditions, must proceed from mere restrictive measures to positive actions for establishing economic equilibrium." In looking upon such positive actions as "interventions" the author shows his liberal bias. Intervening with what? The "natural" functioning of economic life? The price mechanism? Social justice is a more real goal than economic equilibrium.

When THE LITERARY DIGEST says that

JOHN L. LEWIS

"considers Morris Ernst's **The Ultimate Power** is one of his reading 'musts'," it reflects the feeling of liberal readers and thinkers everywhere.

THE ULTIMATE POWER

by Morris L. Ernst

at all booksellers $3.00
DOUBLEDAY, DORAN

To honor the Americans who have died . . .
To help the Americans who live . . .

In Spain's Front Line Trenches

MASS RALLY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23—8 p.m.
Auspices: Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion

HEAR

ROBERT MINOR (*Now en route from Spain*)
JAMES W. FORD (*Recently in the trenches*)
SAMUEL STEMBER (*Commander Lincoln Battalion, just returned from five months on Jarama Front*)

Guest Speaker: **WILLIAM FLAHERTY**—Father of 3 fighters in Battalion

Chairman: PHIL BARD, formerly with the Lincoln Battalion

This Meeting Will Be Broadcast to Spain

THE HIPPODROME—43rd St. & 6th Ave.

General Admission 25c

Contribute NOW to the $25,000 Independence Day Shipment to Spain

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BATTALION
125 West 45th St., N. Y. C.

I enclose $—— as my contribution to the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VISIT
STUDY
ENJOY **MEXICO**

THE WORKERS UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO

●

SUMMER SCHOOL SESSION
July 5 to August 14

COURSES IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

STUDENTS MAY LIVE IN PRIVATE HOMES

TERMS:

6		$25	
4	WEEKS	$18	TUITION
2		$10	

Information cheerfully given by

WORKERS UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO
ROSALES 26 MEXICO CITY
or by Mexican Consuls and Mexican Railway Representatives throughout the United States

Write for Free Illustrated Catalog

JOSE MIGUEL BEJARANO
United States Representative
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

A New National Party in 1938 or 1940?

WILL 1938 OR 1940 SEE THE FORMATION OF A NEW LIBERAL POLITICAL PARTY ON A NATIONAL SCALE?

THE PROGRESSIVE, weekly newspaper successor of the old LA FOLLETTE'S MAGAZINE, believes there is sufficient interest in the third party movement RIGHT NOW to seek the advice of its readers on the subject and is conducting a contest for the purpose of choosing a desirable name for a new party.

GOV. PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE of Wisconsin, on the third anniversary of the birthday of the Progressive party of Wisconsin on May 19 declared:

"The Progressive party has just begun to fight. It looks forward to a national existence and to a national realignment. The time is close at hand for the formation of a new political alignment in the nation which will defeat the reactionary forces of America just as the Progressive party has defeated the reactionary forces in Wisconsin."

READ ABOUT THE NEW PARTY MOVEMENT IN THE PROGRESSIVE. A SPECIAL 10 WEEKS FOR 20 CENTS OFFER FOR NEW TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS IS BEING MADE NOW.

SEND 20 CENTS TODAY TO
THE PROGRESSIVE, DEPT. N, MADISON, WIS.

While the economic sections of this book abound with specific suggestions for change and adaptation, the political chapters are more interpretative in nature. Parliamentarism (Simons), parties (Ascoli), bureaucracy (Brecht), law (Ascoli), leadership (Saloman), public opinion (Lederer), nationalism (Mayer), and foreign policy (Simons) are analyzed in turn, the essential positions being stated and developed. One wonders whether these tools of modern democracy are really destined to remain as stationary as these essays would lead one to believe. They are certainly striking illustrations of how much more difficult it is to invent in the irrational realm of politics than in the rational sphere of economics. The observer's detachment is complete in Hans Speier's able essay on social stratification. "In a democracy of universal suffrage the ease with which social plights are presented as political issues makes for a relatively high degree of political instability. But this instability can be reduced by democratic consensus, that is, by mutual respect for political rights." This thought leaves the reader to whatever hope in the natural goodness of man he can marshal. Yet it is probably true enough.

In a concluding essay on the substance of *American* democracy Alvin Johnson does not gather up the several threads of the preceding analysis but rather furnishes the foundation for hope which is so urgently needed as a complement to the scholarly detachment of science. In moving sentences he recalls the irrational bases of the American democratic spirit, the jury system providing civic experience and education in the meaning of law and justice, the town meeting, and the broader movements of Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, and Lincolnian democracy. It was not and is not, he rightly insists, a matter of definitions and clear-cut arguments but a complex of impulses more or less trained and of experience more or less substantial deep in the heart of the individual democrat. Perhaps he does less than justice to genuine democracy in Europe; for was it not Rousseau who spoke of the real constitution of the state, which is not graven on tablets of marble or brass, but on the hearts of the citizens? And is not democracy as felt and real a thing, and indeed more ancient, in Rousseau's homeland, Switzerland? Democracy and the democratic spirit are more universal, and the American heritage is not unique. But it is mighty, and one is grateful to Alvin Johnson for pointing out to those who would despair of the future how readily a social institution adapts itself to new conditions once it has incorporated itself in the tissue of life.

"The anti-democratic forces are powerful, but they were powerful in the days of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln." To clear the way for such creative adaptation of a living tradition is a noble task for the scholar and scientist. "The forces must grow out of the people itself . . . [but] it is the mission of scholarship to hold fast to the underlying substance [of democracy] through all the process of change and to discover the new forms . . . that men of good-will shall not fall into despair over losses that are only such in seeming, or waste themselves in clinging to obsolete forms from which the substance of democratic life has migrated."

CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH

CORRECTION

The price of "Social Security," by Maxwell S. Stewart, published by W. N. Norton and Company, is $3, not $3.50 as stated in *The Nation* of June 5.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

WE know music only as it is performed; our idea of Tchaikovsky, in particular, is the one we have from performances which have converted his drama into melodrama, his intensity into hysteria; and this overstatement is now the standard by which mere statement is found inadequate. Noses, I hear, are being turned up at Ormandy's performance of the "Pathetic" Symphony with the Philadelphia Orchestra on Victor (five records, $10); it is being found inadequate compared with Koussevitzky's old Victor performance. But the difference between statement and overstatement may be heard in what the two conductors do with the middle section of the second movement (2¼ inches from the first groove on Ormandy's fifth side, 2 inches on Koussevitzky's) —in the effect of the slow tempo that Koussevitzky adopts at this point without any direction from Tchaikovsky. And a similar difference in effect, produced in the same way, is to be heard in a passage in the first movement (⅝ inch on Ormandy's third side, 1/16 earlier on Koussevitzky's), of which Koussevitzky hammers out the conclusion at a pace twice as slow as Tchaikovsky's Allegro vivo. As a matter of fact, there is tremendous excitement in the music as Ormandy plays it—the right kind of excitement, created by the nervous alertness and tautness of the performance instead of the usual frenzy, like the flash of lightning as compared with the rumble of thunder. Contributing to this effect are the refinement in splendor, the elasticity and lightness in manipulation of even the greatest sonority, which are new in my experience of Ormandy's work. Add one of the finest of recording jobs; and you get a set worthy of the superb pages in this work.

There are the same brilliance and nervous excitement in Strauss's "Don Juan" as played by the London Philharmonic under Fritz Busch (Victor: two records, $3); the recording is excellent but a little noisy and harsh with a steel needle. The performances of the Adolf Busch Chamber Players in Bach's Suites Nos. 3 and 4 (Victor: five records, $7.50) are again a source of amazement and delight (Busch's solo performance in the famous Air of No. 3 excepted); they are excellently recorded; and two movements of the neglected No. 4 are finds: the fugue in the Overture, and the Bourrée. Kreisler's String Quartet, played by Kreisler, Petrie, Primrose, and Kennedy (Victor: four records, $8), is the idiom of the little salon pieces in extended form—in other words, tripe.

On Victor single records Marian Anderson's beautiful voice and musicianship continue to be devoted to minor matters: two Finnish folksongs, "Summer Night" and "The Little Shepherdess," and Sibelius's setting of "Come Away, Death" ($1.50); the recording of Caruso's singing of "O Paradiso" and the Flower aria from "Carmen" is a little noisy, but the voice is recognizable and marvelous ($2); McCormack's style in Händel's lovely "Where'er You Walk" makes up for a dryness of voice that becomes unpleasant in Händel's "Caro Amore" on the reverse side ($2); Miliza Korjus's remarkable soprano is heard to advantage in Martha's aria from "The Czar's Bride," and in the Hymn to the Sun from "The Golden Cockerel," which suffers from an atrocious orchestral accompaniment in Hungarian cafe style ($1.50); and Margherita Perras exhibits an accurate but unattractive voice and no style to speak of in two arias from "The Abduction from the Seraglio" ($1.50).

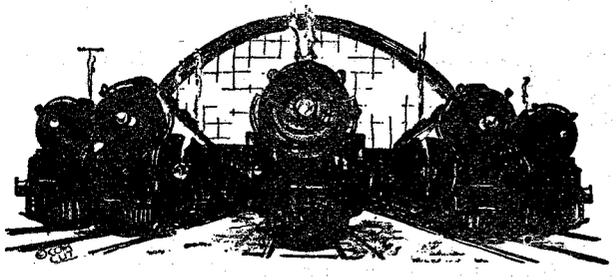
B. H. HAGGIN

SEEING
RUSSIA with EXPERTS
General Survey Tour. Leader: Robert Magidoff, literary worker in Moscow since 1935. Sailing July 3. Eight weeks $399
A Travel "Collective." Leader: Dr. Joshua Kunitz, journalist, now living in Moscow. Sailing July 3. Eight weeks $543
Theatre Festival Tour. Leader: Will Geer of New Theatre League. Five weeks in Russia, including Theatre Festival. Sailing July 28. Eight weeks $595
Europe and Russia (auspices American Student Union). France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, England. Sailing July 3. Eight weeks $499
All Steamship Passage Third Class.

THE OPEN ROAD
12th Floor
8 West 40th Street New York
Cooperating with Intourist

3rd Annual
TAMIMENT LABOR CONFERENCE
CAMP TAMIMENT, PENNSYLVANIA
New York Office: 7 East 15th St., ALgonquin 4-3441
Subject: "Labor's Demands on Industry and Gov't"
Speakers:
Gov. George H. Earle
Hon. Thomas Kennedy
Hon. Edw. F. McGrady
Louis Waldman
Judge Ferdinand Pecora
Senator Jos. C. O'Mahoney
Prof. William Z. Ripley
Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg
Mayor Jasper McLevy
John T. Flynn, *others*
June 24 to 27—$4 a day—deluxe extra
Send Reservations with $2 Conference Fee to New York Office

TWIN PINES
A Camp for Adults
New main house featuring individual screened sun porches and semi-private adjoining baths; comfortable bungalows. Sand beach bathing, boating, fishing, tennis, handball, basketball, baseball, etc.
3-Day Weekend—July 4th, $13.50 up
TWIN PINES ON TROUT LAKE
S. SAIDEL, LAKE GEORGE, N. Y.


Going Away?
To assure regular delivery of *The Nation,* subscribers are requested to give us three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new. Report your change of address to the Circulation Department, *The Nation,* 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

The American Writers' Congress

Dear Sirs: Some weeks ago I received an invitation to the Second American Writers' Congress, held in New York, June 4-6. I read the statement of the aims of the congress: to mobilize American writers against fascism and to enable left-wing writers to discuss their common problems. These seemed to me wholly admirable objectives, and I sent in a dollar and became a delegate. Your readers might be interested in my experiences.

I am ardently opposed to fascism, and I assume that all the other participants in the congress, whose anti-fascist directive was stated quite clearly, shared my opposition. The logical question before the congress, it would therefore seem, was not, Is fascism to be fought? but rather, How is fascism to be fought? As is well known, the Communist Party has one answer—the popular front in defense of democracy. But the Socialist Party has another—the class struggle against capitalism. The existence of this deep divergence of opinion among radicals expresses itself in every field. To writers it poses questions as to the freedom with which the critic who is sympathetic to the building of socialism should comment on Soviet art and letters, the relationship of the writer to political parties, the attitude of writers who accept the people's front in politics toward revolutionary literature—must they shift their allegiance to liberal-democratic literature?—and the reason why left-wing literature today has not come to more impressive fruition.

My politically sophisticated friends warned me that the congress was merely a maneuver of the Communist Party, and that I was naive to expect any such discussions—since discussion implies the possibility of disagreement. But the call to the congress made no mention of adherence to the Communist Party political line as a prerequisite for participation. Indeed, it stated: "We are not advancing these ideas as fixed theories that have to be accepted on pain of intellectual excommunication. On the contrary, we believe that they should be discussed among writers as freely and widely as possible." No such discussion took place. The congress assumed an a priori agreement on Stalinist policies," despite the failure of the call to mention any such thing and despite the fact that the signers of the call were practically all non-Communist liberals.

The congress was one long "pep talk," reminiscent of the rallies I used to attend at Phillips Exeter Academy on the eve of the annual football game with Andover. In this case, Andover was replaced by fascism. A great many intensely earnest people told us over and over that we must lick fascism, but as to the strategy—that was entirely up to Quarterback Stalin. Anyone who criticized his tactics was a Trotskyite wrecker and assassin (read: "lacking in school spirit").

At the opening session a well-known littérateur named Browder launched a venomous attack on Trotskyism and its "liberal stooges." I suppose I am one of the latter since, while not entirely convinced of the correctness of Trotsky's line, I am critical of Stalinism. Mr. Browder was prolific in epithets for such as me—"innocents . . . seekers after truth . . . gentle souls . . . sentimentalists and muddle-heads." This gratuitous political attack on a minority of the delegates to the congress threw a queer light on the nature of its "united front." The victims had no spokesman that evening, or in the rest of the meetings. A Republican, a Farmer-Laborite, and a Communist were invited to address the opening session. But no Socialist appeared on the speakers' platform, then or later.

The remaining two days of the congress were devoted to sessions limited to delegates. Innocuous, non-controversial papers were read. A refined lady in a jaunty hat gave a history of Italian literature in the best ladies' club manner; Malcolm Cowley presented a "Time Marches . . . On!" sort of summary of recent literary events, Albert Rhys Williams told us that billions of books are published in the U. S. S. R.; Henry Hart was of the opinion that publishers are out to make money and have little real feeling for literature; and almost every one warned us in convincing detail that fascism is inimical to culture. After every paper, a discussion period. But, alas, there was little discussion. This seems to have disturbed some of the more innocent sponsors of the congress.

As the congress dragged on, its superbly simple strategy became increasingly clear. At Friday's mass-meeting, when no rebuttal was possible, Browder attacked the critics of Stalinism. During the next two days' sessions, when discussion was possible, the speakers confined themselves to purely factual talks or to statements of truths so obvious as to permit no dissent.

What is one to think of a "united front" congress of anti-fascist writers which includes Thornton Wilder, Ernest Hemingway, Carl Van Doren, and Marc Connelly and excludes Edmund Wilson, Louis Hacker, Lewis Corey, Sidney Hook, Benjamin Stolberg, and James T. Farrell? (Mr. Farrell seems to have been invited, but for some reason didn't think it worth attending.) Indeed, what is there to say except that for such a writers' congress the "united front" is, as these names indicate, indefinitely extensible on the right but on the left is strictly limited to the Communist Party?

It is not necessary to dwell on the hypocrisy of a congress which pretends to be creating a united front of anti-fascist writers while actually excluding and even slandering a considerable group of eminent anti-fascist writers. This exclusion has nothing to do with fascism, communism, or democracy. It is simply that these writers, with whom I am proud to ally myself, are critical of the present bureaucratic regime which is distorting socialism in the U. S. S. R., and critical of the policies of its American branch. Again and again, in public and in private conversation with the leading spirits of the congress, it was made quite clear to me that radicals with my heretical views about Stalinism were not welcome. One of them cut short my criticisms with, "Well, if you don't like it, stay away." I submit that this is not an intelligent way to build up a united front of American writers against fascism.

DWIGHT MACDONALD

New York, June 8

P.S. The Congress wound up by electing as president for next year the well-known left-wing writer, Donald Ogden Stewart.

[*Next week we expect to print a letter from a correspondent who also took part in the American Writers' Congress but whose reactions to it were more favorable.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

ROUND LAKE LODGE

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and recreation in the heart of the Ramapo Mountains, one hour from New York.

Swimming, boating, tennis, riding, golf, and other sports

OPENING JULY FIRST

By Reservation Only — Limited to 30 Guests

Special Opening Rate

of $15 for 3-day Fourth of July weekend

P. O. BOX 297, MONROE, N. Y. — TELEPHONE: MONROE 2501

A descriptive folder will be sent at your request

The Vacation Buy of the Year

COPAKE The Island Paradise on Beautiful Lake Copake, Craryville, N. Y.

Nationally selected as the Ideal Camp. The only camp with all lake front. Modern Bungalows with every convenience and private showers. Magnificent 18-hole championship golf course. 12 fast tennis courts. Hand ball. Saddle horses. Aquatics. Unsurpassed food and entertainment.

N. Y. Off.: 116 Nassau St. BE. 3-5590

$100 WORTH OF VACATION ENJOYMENT FOR **$30**

THE PEOPLE, YES!

THEY CHOOSE THEIR OWN TYPE OF VACATION AT

COOKS FALLS LODGE

Handball, Tennis, Rowing *Free*
Private Swimming Pool
Entertainment, etc. *Make reservations*

COOKS FALLS LODGE
COOKS FALLS NEW YORK
New York Office:
250 WEST 57th STREET
Telephone: COlumbus 5-3690; Room 1307

PINE HILL FARM HOUSE
Pleasant Valley, N. Y., Dutchess Co.
An ideal place for rest. Beautiful surroundings. Wholesome food. Modern conveniences. Tennis, bathing, fishing, rowing.
Pleasant Valley 2741 RATE $17 in June

ROBIN HOOD LODGE, in the Adirondacks, One mile from Warrensburg. Private beach on Echo Lake. Tennis, handball, badminton, swimming and canoeing. Cabins. Guests met at Lake George. $20.00 and $21.00. Tel 27-F-12. R. J. Venton.

MANHATTAN BEACH HOTEL
156 West End Ave. SHeepshead 3-3000
37 Minutes from Times Square
Live at this modern fireproof hotel away from noise.
SINGLES $8 WEEKLY UP

RESORTS

UNCAS LODGE
UNCASVILLE, CONN.

A charming, unpretentious modern adult camp and 165-acre New England farm. An ideal retreat for lovers of rustic beauty.

- Private Twin Lakes
- 3 Clay Tennis Courts
- Saddle Horses and Golf
- 4 Ping-Pong Tables
- Unexcelled Cuisine
- Dancing to a Fine Orchestra

"Send for Booklet"

JULY RATE $24.50 PER WEEK
$4.00 per day

Phone: PResident 3-8649

"The Camp with that Wonderful Spirit"

CAMP MILFORD

KENT CONN.

Opens June 18th

A modern adult camp on beautiful lake . . . in heart of Connecticut Hills. All outdoor sports; splendid entertainment: 8-Piece Orchestra. Delicious meals.

July 4th Week End:
3 Days $16.50—Daily $6
July and August weekly rate. **$29.50**
Week-End Rate $5 Per Day
Railroad fare $1.65 one way
Write for booklet
11 West 42nd St.
PEnn. 6-7842

WUNNISHAUNTA

Camp for Young Men & Women

ON LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE

QUEEN WHITE MOUNTAIN LAKES

All Modern Camp Features
Sports . . . Dancing . . . Entertainment
Excellent Cuisine
New Low Rates: $25.00-$27.50-$30.00
Write for Booklet
Mrs. Sadie Brickman, Hostess
WOLFEBORO NEW HAMPSHIRE

Lake Candlewood Orchards

60 miles from New York, near Danbury, Conn.
A BIT OF MAINE COUNTRY BROUGHT CLOSE TO NEW YORK
A Quaint Pre-Revolutionary Farm. Completely renovated. Splendid Accommodations. Jewish-American cooking.
ALL SPORTS ON PREMISES
Write for reservations to
Lake Candlewood Orchards, Brookfield, Conn. — Sonya Snowe, Manager

---

The Sophistication of a Smart Country Club. The Convenience of a Modern Hotel. Fast tennis courts . . . all land and water sports . . . 18-hole golf course . . . 11-piece orchestra.

The CEDARS COUNTRY CLUB
LAKEVILLE Connecticut

SEA GATE'S finest house, waterfront, quietest location, extra large rooms, most with private bath, excellent cuisine. Spacious grounds. Rates reasonable. Weekend parties accommodated when possible. For reservations please communicate ATLANTIC LODGE, 4909 Beach 49th St., ESplanade 2-9847.

VERA YANPOLSKY'S REST HOUSE: Stelton, N. J. Individual diets served—solarium sun baths—outdoor showers—Lake bathing—nurse masseuse—teacher for children on premises. Children $12, Adults $16 (June rates $14).

FEW GUESTS, Berkshire Foothills, 200 acres. Excellent meals: Restful, Quiet; Modern Conveniences; Fishing, Swimming; $20 Week, $3.50 Day. Mrs. Gardner, *Ancramdale, Columbia County, N. Y.*

RESORTS

ECHO LAKE TAVERN
A Camp for Adults in the ADIRONDACKS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.

COLORFUL
CONGENIAL
COMFORTABLE
Ideal for Honeymooners
Special Rates
Up to JUNE 26th
$25 weekly

ECHO LAKE TAVERN
Warrensburg, N. Y.
City Phone: VAnderbilt 3-9875

IN HEART OF ADIRONDACKS

MOON HILL Lodge *Honeymooners Paradise*

LOW JUNE RATES
All Activities this month
Hotel Accommodations
Country Club Activities
Enjoy Golf, Tennis, Riding, Boating, Bathing, Unsurpassed Cuisine (Dietary Laws). Write for Booklet N.
Sarah Solomon, Man. Dir., Pottersville, WarrenCo., N.Y.
N. Y.: 45 W. 45th St. MEdallion 3-5450

ON SCHROON LAKE

OPENING JUNE 19TH

LAKE CHODIKEE LODGE
HIGHLAND, N. Y.
Exceptional facilities for athletics and all sports under direction of competent staff. Private lake. Fine food. Hampshire Players Group; also M. E. Kriegel, lecturer.
Rates $27.50 to $32.50. Special Low June Rates
Write for Booklet
1202 Kings Highway, Brooklyn ESplanade 5-4130
LOU KASS—LOU ROTHBLATT, Directors

SWIM, FISH, PLAY

or rest in the salt air and sunshine of romantic Gloucester. Camp Annisquam—where young people keep young. Send for booklet.

A. RESNICK, *Dir.*, Gloucester, Mass.

REITER HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.
Telephone: Mahopac 414 Elev. 1,000 Ft.
In the mountains . . . yet only 50 miles from New York City. Dietary laws strictly observed. All outdoor sports.
RATES $22 UP
City Information: LAckawanna 4-5997

VINEYARD LODGE
Ulster Park, N. Y.
"Garden spot of Ulster County"
Where peace and tranquillity reign supreme. Modern hotel midst beautiful orchard, vineyards and woodland. All sports, solariums, swimming, social activities. Rates $16 up. J. Rosenthal, Kingston 3430.

RIVERSIDE INN on Lake Housatonic. Swimming, boating. 1¾ hrs. from New York. $3 per day. $18 per week. Station, Derby. P. O. Seymour, Conn. Tel. Derby 598-12.

KUTAY'S RIVERSIDE CAMP—CAPACITY 30. JEWISH AMERICAN MEALS. SPECIAL JUNE RATE $16.00. BUSHKILL, PA.

TRAVEL

Vacation Tours

To Mexico, California; also Europe, Palestine & Russia. Space still available on July 3rd sailing of Dr. Cohen's Group and other sailings.
Ask for free literature
AMALGAMATED BANK
11 UNION SQ., N. Y., ALGON. 4-1500

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHILDREN'S CAMP

PIONEER YOUTH CAMP

Rifton, N. Y. In the Catskills

• BOYS AND GIRLS SIX TO SIXTEEN •

Fourteenth consecutive season of progressive camping. Happy, healthy activities in cooperative community of seven separate age groups • Exceptional staff. Creative use of environment rich in historical background.

Arts Music Sports
Dramatics Crafts Swimming

Non-profit-making non-sectarian
Rate for 9-week season $175
Shorter vacations may be arranged
Special rates on application to members of all unions

Inquire at
PIONEER YOUTH OF AMERICA, INC.
219 W. 29th St., New York, N. Y. Pe. 6-3055

RECORDS

100,000 European Recordings

Announcing an extraordinary sale of 100,000 Parlophone, Odeon, Decca discs. These marvelous records comprise the cream of the world's finest music. A selection to gratify every taste. Sale prices: 50c & 75c per record. Values $1.50 & $2.00. Mail orders. Catalog.

GRAMOPHONE SHOP, Inc., 18 E. 48th St., New York

LANGUAGES

Language Phone Sets
Bought, sold, rented, exchanged. Language Service, 507-5th Ave. MUr. 2-4221.

SUMMER RENTALS

Attractive bungalow, Stoneybrook Colony, Westport, Conn. All conveniences, swimming, tennis, handball, summer school for children. Berman, Topping 2-5017.

SUMMER COTTAGE FOR RENT: Five rooms, electricity, water, brook, 300-acre farm, 115 miles from city. $150. To rent to family with children. ST. 9-0992 or MILVY, West Shokan, N. Y.

Cozy houses, concrete pool, acres of space, lawns, shade, fruit, woods, tennis, plumbing, reasonable, hour commuting. P. J. Kohler, Box 185, Congers, N. Y. Tel. Congers 261R.

Berkshire Hills—Charming bungalow; also 8-room house or rooms with housekeeping, completely furnished, all improvements. Wienstein, Canaan, N. Y., or RIverside 9-2932, evenings.

Lake Winnipesaukee, 5-room cottage with surrounding porch on small individual island, mountain view. Outboard motor boat, canoe. Privacy and solitude. July 3-August 18, $135. Prof. Feise, Echo Island, Wolfeboro, N. H.

Charmingly furnished cottage, all improvements, moderately priced. Easy access to city. All sports in Free Acres. For information: Topping 2-1204.

Mohegan Lake. Furnished housekeeping rooms in secluded, quiet, artistic res. beside stream on 300 wooded estate; city conveniences. For 6 adults only. Season $100 each. Dr. West Farms, Mill Street.

FOR SALE

HUNTINGTON, L. I., Farm-estate, 8 acres (more available), old remodeled farmhouse; every convenience; 6 bedrooms and 2 baths, screened porches; wonderful shade trees; pinewood lot, evergreen nursery; farm equipment, asparagus bed, apple orchard; schools, clubs, beaches nearby; bargain at $20,000. See it and make an offer. Box 923, c/o The Nation.

Woodstock, N. Y. Beautiful hillside lot, nearly 4 acres, magnificent views, large evergreens; quiet, refined section, about 7 miles from Woodstock center; double garage convertible 4-room cottage; gravity spring water, electricity; 330 ft. frontage, good road; ideal for writer, artist, summer or year round; $1500; very easy terms. Owner, Box 47, Station F, New York.

American Isolation

Dear Sirs: In the issue of May 1 Oswald Garrison Villard, speaking about neutrality for the United States, strongly advocates keeping your country out of any future war. Who would not wish to keep his country out of war? The real problem is how it can be done.

Fascism is a challenge not to democracy but to the failures and weaknesses of present-day democracy. One of these failures is the indifference and unwillingness of the United States to cooperate in solving the problems of Europe and of the world. The German and Italian peoples, not to speak of others, have certain grievances. The powers which are satisfied and have the greatest slices of the world's good things are unwilling to share these with the "have-nots," just as the super-wealthy are probably unwilling to share their riches with the under-dog. This kind of thing breeds intense nationalism, and intense nationalism breeds wars. The democratic powers, including America, should get together and find out what these grievances are before it is too late.

AUGUSTUS VINCENT

Geneva, Switzerland, May 28

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS L. STOKES is Washington correspondent of the New York *World-Telegram.*

NORMAN THOMAS, leader of the left wing of the Socialist Party and three times Presidential candidate, has recently returned from Spain, where he interviewed Loyalist leaders.

HAROLD J. LASKI, professor of political science at the London School of Economics, has just emerged from a heated political controversy in England which resulted in the dissolution of the Socialist League of which he was a founder. He will retain his membership in the Labor Party as a leader of its left wing.

LELAND STOWE, for nine years Paris correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune,* is now on its editorial staff in New York.

JAMES SMITH is the pseudonym of a securities analyst.

JULIAN S. BACH, Jr., is a young American who has been studying in England and Europe. He has begun a journalistic career with some articles on a trip through the Balkans.

DONALD LESLIE describes himself as a Scot, a resident of Alberta for thirty years, and "verra respeckit."

SITUATIONS WANTED

College graduate, young lady, honor student, history, economics major, taking masters; 3 yrs. office exp., typist; varied intellectual interests; moderate salary, interesting position, future; anything. Box 924, c/o The Nation.

Very young man, dancer, needs part time work while continuing study modern, ballet; efficient, references. Box No. 925, c/o The Nation.

Young Man, 26, Experienced Research Secretary, Literary Assistant. Stenotypist, Typist. Chauffeur's License. Any Position. M. Korsun, 337 E. 18th St., N. Y. C.

HELP WANTED

Russian or Russian Jewish cultured person capable of meeting and tactfully dealing perspective clients wanted. Box No. 927, c/o The Nation.

CAMPING—BOYS

Co-educational progressive camp has vacancy for boy of 13-15; partial scholarship may be arranged. Box 930, c/o The Nation.

Summer Camp, private family; can accommodate 4 high school boys. Golf, tennis, swimming, home supervision. Reasonable. Box No. 931, c/o The Nation.

WANTED

Wanted—to sub-lease for summer, 1-1½ room apt. Must be reasonable. State full particulars. Box No. 928, c/o The Nation.

Couple to share lake bungalow. Golf, Tennis. Adult camp activities. Box No. 932, c/o The Nation.

Young lady wishes to join radical group to Mexico during summer by boat or train. Box No. 926, c/o The Nation.

Young man, good mixer, social director for modern country hotel accommodating 80. Salary and commission. Box No. 929, c/o The Nation.

SUBLET

Comfortably furnished 2 attractive rooms and complete kitchen—suitable for 3; refrigeration. July and August, $65 per month. J. Gray, 123 E. 54 St., WIc. 2-6727.

3 rooms completely furnished. Modern elevator building. West 12 St. July 1 to Labor Day. WAt. 9-4119.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES
62 cents a line
Minimum three lines

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED